Dynamics of Identity in the World of the Early Christians

Associations, Judeans, and Cultural Minorities

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For Cheryl, Nathaniel, and Justin

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Preface

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All photos that appear in this volume were taken by me (© 2009 Philip A. Harland). I would like to thank the organizations and staffs responsible for maintaining the archeological sites and museums for permission to view and photograph these ancient archeological materials. The map base is used with permission from the Ancient World Mapping Center, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill (www.unc.edu/awmc).

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Italy and the Eastern Roman Empire

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Introduction

Drawing on insights from the social sciences, this study suggests that we can better understand certain dynamics of identity among groups of Judeans (Jews) and Christians by looking at archeological evidence for other contemporary associations and cultural minority groups. Ancient Judean and Christian answers to the question *Who are we?* come into sharper focus through close attention to the cultural environments and real-life settings of associations in the cities of the Roman Empire. Despite the peculiarities of both Judean gatherings and Christian congregations, there were significant overlaps in how associations of various kinds communicated their identities and in how members of such groups expressed notions of belonging internally.

Recent studies are shedding light on aspects of identity in the world of the early Christians.[1] And yet there is a tendency to neglect archeological evidence regarding real-life groups at the local level, groups that might provide a new vantage point to early Christianity. For instance, Judith Lieu's important contributions to the study of early Christian identity are particularly notable.[2] In her latest work, *Christian Identity in the Jewish and Graeco-Roman World* (2004), Lieu investigates the emergence of Christian identity in literature of the first two centuries, drawing on concepts from the social sciences along the way. The strength of this work lies in its comparative approach, investigating various identity issues among Judeans, Christians, and both Greeks and Romans. Thus, for instance, Lieu shows how similar ethnographic discourses were at work in Roman perspectives on "foreign" peoples (e.g., Tacitus on the Germans and on the Judeans), in Judean definitions of the "gentiles," and in some early Christian processes of self-definition in relation to the "other."[3] Like Denise Kimber Buell (2005), Lieu also helpfully notes the importance of discourses of ethnicity in the construction of Christian identity, to which I return below.[4]

However, Lieu's attempt to cover so much ground and her concentration on literary sources to the exclusion of archeology did not permit a focus on identity within small *groups and associations* in Greco-Roman settings. This lack of attention to group

1. See, for instance, Lieu 2004; Buell 2005.
2. See Lieu 1996 and 2002.
3. Lieu 2004, 269–97.
4. Lieu 2004, 239–68. Cf. Lieu 2002, 49–68.

identity and local groups as a comparative framework is, in part, a result of Lieu's stress on what she sees as a more "universal," "translocal identity" shared by Christians that, she implies, is a unique trait of the Christians.[5] So despite her aim of comparison, she tends to focus on what is distinctive or unique about Christian identity, often to the exclusion of areas of overlap in identity formation and negotiation within groups in the Greco-Roman world.[6] In the introduction, she explicitly sets aside "voluntary associations" (*collegia*, θίασοι) as somehow too "local" to be of any use in assessing dynamics of identity among early Christian groups, which are presumed to be primarily "translocal."[7] An abundance of archeological and inscriptional evidence for group identity in the Greco-Roman world thereby gets left aside as somehow irrelevant.

Other scholars do see the value in comparisons that look to local archeological and epigraphic materials, including evidence for associations in the world of early Christian groups and Judean gatherings. Yet the topic of identity formation and negotiation with regard to associations is only beginning to be addressed. Associations in the Greco-Roman world first drew the attention of numerous scholars in the late nineteenth century, such as Jean-Pierre Waltzing (1895–1900), Erich Ziebarth (1896), and Franz Poland (1909), who focussed primarily on things such as the types of groups, group terminology, internal organization, and legal issues. As I discuss at length elsewhere, there were some initial attempts—by scholars such as Edwin Hatch (1909 [1880]) and Georg Heinrici (1876, 1881)—to compare such groups with Christian congregations.[8] Yet many were hesitant to engage in such comparisons due, in large part, to ideological or theological assumptions concerning the supposed uniqueness and incomparability of early Christianity.[9]

As interests turned to social history since the 1970s, there has been renewed attention to studying such associations within the disciplines of Greek and Roman studies. There are many recent works, including those by Frank M. Ausbüttel (1982), Ulrich Fellmeth (1987), Halsey L. Royden (1988), Onno M. van Nijf (1997), Imogen Dittmann-Schöne (2000), Brigitte Le Guen (2001), Holger Schwarzer (2002), Carola Zimmermann (2002), Ulrike Egelhaaf-Gaiser and Alfred Schäfer, eds. (2002), Sophia Aneziri (2003), Jinyu Liu (2004), Jonathan Scott Perry (2006), and Stefan Sommer (2006), to name a few.

This resurgence in interest was also reflected in the study of diaspora Judean gatherings and Christian congregations. There are now a significant number of works that compare associations with either Judean or Christian groups in the Roman period,

5. Lieu 2004, 4.

6. Lieu 2004, 11. At times, this focus on distinctiveness seems to reflect an idealizing approach to early Christians, as when Lieu speaks of "mutual support" or "love" (*agapē*) as "an inalienable element in the shared symbols that shaped early Christian identity" (Lieu 2004, 169).

7. Lieu 2004, 4. On problems with such local vs. translocal contrasts, see Ascough 1997a.

8. See Kloppenborg 1993; Harland 2003a. For other subsequent attempts at comparison before the resurgence since 1980, see, for instance, Besnier 1932; Gilmour 1938; Reicke 1951; Guterman 1951 (on synagogues and the *collegia*); Judge 1960.

9. See J. Z. Smith 1990; Kloppenborg 1993.

including those by Robert Wilken (1972, 1984), S. C. Barton and G. H. R. Horsley (1981), Hans-Josef Klauck (1981, 1982), Moshe Weinfeld (1986), John S. Kloppenborg (1993), John S. Kloppenborg and Stephen Wilson, eds. (1996), Thomas Schmeller (1995), Peter Richardson (1996), Albert Baumgarten (1998), Paul R. Trebilco (1999), Anders Runesson (2001), Richard S. Ascough (1997b, 2003), Eva Ebel (2004), and my own previous works listed in the bibliography, especially *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations* (2003a).

Such comparative studies are setting the stage for focussed explorations of specific aspects of association life, including issues relating to identity and belonging in the context of small groups. Explorations of this sort will provide new perspectives on both Judean gatherings and Christian congregations. The present study of identity in the world of the early Christians contributes towards this scholarly enterprise. I focus attention on the question of how associations and ethnic groups in the ancient Mediterranean provide a new angle of vision on questions of identity formation and negotiation among Judean gatherings and Christian congregations in the first three centuries. Archeological evidence and inscriptions provide a window into dynamics of identity within group settings in antiquity. Insights from the social sciences offer a constructive framework for making some sense of these materials.

Social-Historical Study of Group Life in the Greco-Roman World

This study is social-historical in at least two senses of the word. On the one hand, I am interested in the everyday life settings of average people in antiquity, in down-to-earth social interactions and cultural practices at the local level. Social history in this sense originally emerged as "history from below" in the discipline of history beginning primarily in the post–World War II period, especially since the 1960s.[10] "History from below" or social history is history from the perspective of those who are often left out of traditional approaches to political and intellectual history. It gives attention to those who did not necessarily hold positions of influence or power, or who were not necessarily educated enough to write things down themselves (e.g., the lower social strata of societies, and women).

In time, this interest in social history began to play a role in other disciplines including classical studies and New Testament studies. Works by Ramsay MacMullen (1974), G. E. M. de Ste. Croix (1981), and Géza Alföldy (1985) illustrate the budding interest in social history of the Greek and Roman periods, for instance. Among the earlier cases of social-historical approaches to the early Christians are influential contributions by

10. See Burke 1992 [1980], 13–16. Among the earlier and more influential social historians were those of the French Annales school, including Fernand Braudel (1949) and, later, Marxist historians such as Eric Hobsbawm (1959, 1969), E. P. Thompson (1964), and Christopher Hill (1971, 1972).

scholars such as Gerd Theissen (1982 [1973], 1978), John G. Gager (1975), Abraham Malherbe (1983 [1977]), John H. Elliott (1990 [1981]), Wayne A. Meeks (1983), and Richard Horsley (1985).

In the case of small group life in the ancient world, archeological and inscriptional evidence is particularly important in approaching social history. This is because this evidence frequently offers glimpses into everyday social and cultural interactions that are not as visible in literary sources. Literary sources were produced by a small segment of the population, the educated elites (although there was a range of statuses among this segment). Usually literacy levels are estimated to be approximately 10 percent of the population for antiquity and for the period before the invention of the printing press in 1453.[11] Nonetheless, one can approach literary evidence in careful ways to shed light on social and cultural practices among the population generally, keeping in mind the specific perspectives of the ancient authors in question.

On the other hand, this study is social-historical in the sense that it employs the social sciences. The social sciences in question are sociology (the study of social groups and structures), anthropology (the study of humans and human culture), and social psychology (the study of individual human behaviour in social group contexts). The social sciences came to play a role in social-historical studies in history quite early, as Peter Burke's survey of 1980 (repr. 1992) on *History and Social Theory* illustrates. Eventually such approaches began to be employed in the study of early Christianity and the New Testament, initially by scholars such as those I mentioned above in connection with social-historical studies and those belonging to the Context Group (formed in 1986).

Before outlining the social-scientific concepts that inform this volume, it is important to say a few words about how one goes about using social sciences in historical study. There is now a broad consensus among scholars of early Christianity, for instance, that the social sciences can and should be employed to shed new light on early Christianity. However, as Dale Martin (1993) also notes, this consensus is marked by a spectrum of opinion on how to approach the enterprise, as recent debates between Philip Esler and David Horrell also illustrate.[12] While some tend to emphasize the scientific nature of the enterprise and focus their attention on developing, applying, and testing models, others are less focussed on models and take what they would call a more interpretive approach to their use of the social sciences.

On the one hand, the Context Group has been particularly instrumental in developing social-scientific approaches to early Christianity. Scholars such as Philip Esler, Bruce Malina, John H. Elliott, and others associated with that group take what they would consider a scientific, model-based approach to their research.[13] They correctly emphasize the value of employing explicit models or theories from the social sciences, since this approach helps the scholar to avoid the negative effect of implicit assumptions when our models of social interactions remain unrecognized or unstated.[14]

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11. On the Roman era, see Harris 1989 and Beard 1991, for instance.
12. See, for example, Horrell 1996, 2000, 2002; Esler 1998a, 1998b. Cf. Martin 1993.
13. See esp. Elliott 1993 for a summary of this approach.
14. See Elliott 1993.

Elliott defines a model as an "abstract representation of the relationships among social phenomena used to conceptualize, analyze, and interpret patterns of social relations, and to compare and contrast one system of social relations with another."[15] Such models are considered to serve as heuristic devices in raising questions that help to explain the significance of social and cultural data reflected in the New Testament. It is particularly common for scholars such as Malina and Jerome Neyrey, for instance, to draw on models from recent studies of modern Mediterranean cultures, such as those associated with honour-shame societies, and to adapt them in ways that shed light on the ancient Mediterranean.[16]

Beyond participants in the Context Group, other scholars such as Gerd Theissen (1982, 1999), Wayne Meeks (1983), Margaret McDonald (1988), John M. G. Barclay (1996), and David Horrell (Horrell 1996, 2000, 2002) have engaged in historical studies of Christian origins or ancient Judean culture that employ the social sciences in various ways. Some of these scholars take a more interpretive approach to the use of the social sciences and tend to speak of themselves as social historians rather than social scientists. Some tend towards a piecemeal approach to the use of sociological theory, including Meeks. Others, such as Horrell, speak in terms of using social theory to develop a theoretical framework for the analysis of ancient materials, and such scholars focus less on models specifically.[17]

Building on contributions from both of these scholarly areas, I approach the social sciences as heuristic devices, as things that help the social historian develop questions and *find* or notice things that might otherwise remain obscure. I tend to draw on social-scientific insights to develop a research framework for analysis, and I am less focused than some other scholars on testing models specifically. In this respect, I consider myself more a social historian than a social scientist. Throughout this interdisciplinary study, I explain and adapt social-scientific concepts and theories in order to further our understanding of specific historical cases in the ancient context.

Key Concepts and Insights from the Social Sciences

This study is informed by insights from two overlapping areas of social-scientific investigation: identity theory, on the one hand, and studies of ethnic groups and migration theory, on the other. For both of these areas of research, there is a high degree of interdisciplinarity involving sociology, anthropology, and social psychology. Let me begin by briefly introducing these two areas and by defining key theoretical concepts for this study along the way. It is important to stress that the concepts that I define here in the introduction are scholarly outsider (etic) terms that help us to make sense of social relations and cultural interactions in the ancient world. Most of the time these

15. Elliott 1993, 132.
16. See Malina 1981, or subsequent editions of that work.
17. Horrell 1996, 9–32, esp. p. 18.

concepts would not be used by the ancient subjects we are studying. Often, however, scholars take into consideration insider, or emic, perspectives or conceptions as part of their definition of an etic category, as we will see with both "identity" and "ethnic group."

Identity Theory

Broadly speaking, there are two main ways in which the concept of "identity" is used in this study, corresponding to variant, though related and overlapping, uses in the social sciences, each with different purposes.[18] There is the collective use of the term identity and the more individual-focused use of the term. In both uses, however, identity is seen as socially constructed by the subjects under investigation and as malleable, not as primordial, engrained, or static.

First, there is the *collective view* of identity that is most common in ethnic and migration studies. Roughly speaking, this view of identity best corresponds to our subjects answering the question Who are *we*? as well as What distinguishes us from other groups in this society? and Where do we draw the lines (or boundaries) between our group and others? This tradition within sociology and anthropology, which underlies much of my discussion in the following chapters, employs the concept of identity and especially ethnic identity in a collective way to refer to group-members' common sense of belonging together in a particular ethnic or cultural minority group.

In the wake of the work of anthropologist Fredrik Barth (1969), "ethnic identity" is often used to refer to a particular group's shared sense of belonging together because of certain experiences and notions of connection deriving from group-members' *perceptions* of common cultural heritage and common geographical and/or ancestral origins (emic perspectives are incorporated into an etic category).[19] As Jonathan M. Hall emphasizes in his discussion of ethnicity in the archaic and classical Greek periods, fictive kinship is often central to the definition of ethnicity, alongside the historical subjects' notions of a common history and a shared homeland.[20]

The imagined connections and the categories used by participants to classify themselves or others in ethnic terms may, and often do, change over time (despite the common perceptions of some actors that such things are in-born, primordial, or static). Nonetheless, if a given ethnic group is to continue, what is maintained is the "continued interest on the part of its members in maintaining the boundaries" which are considered to separate members of the ethnic group ("us") from others ("them").[21] It is important to emphasize that ethnicity or ethnic identity, in this view, is ascriptive and subjective rather than primordial and objective. What matters is how the partici-

18. Cf. Howard 2000; Stets and Burke 2003.

19. On ethnic identity see, for instance, Barth 1969; Romanucci-Ross and de Vos 1995, 13; de Vos 1995; Verkuyten 2004.

20. Hall 2002, 9–19.

21. Goudriaan 1992, 76; de Vos 1995.

pants categorize themselves and how they adopt a perspective that sees their belonging together as engrained.

There is a sense in which this collective concept of identity will be most appropriate in the present study. There are at least a couple of reasons why this is so. The fragmentary nature of ancient evidence means that we lack sufficient data on individual roles or individual self-conceptions, but we do catch glimpses of group life and interactions. Furthermore, recent studies by scholars such as Malina and others draw attention to the primarily collective character of ancient Greco-Roman societies and the dyadic or group-oriented nature of ancient personalities.[22] This contrasts somewhat to the more individualistic tendencies of modern, Western societies and personality development in those societies. So a collective concept of identity is particularly fitting in studying the world of the early Christians.

Recent works have usefully employed such concepts of ethnicity in studying groups in the ancient context, including Hall's (1997, 2002) important studies of the emergence of *Hellenicity*; Philip F. Esler's (2003) discussion of tensions between ethnic groups within the Christian congregations at Rome; and Barclay's (2007) study of Josephus's expression of Judean identity in terms of common descent, history, territory, language, sacred texts, and temple. In the following section, I return to defining related concepts including "ethnic group" and "cultural minority group," but for now we need to consider some other social-scientific theories of identity.

The second main way in which the concept of identity can be employed relates to sociological and, especially, social psychological theories of identity. Here the term relates primarily to the *individual's self-concept* as it pertains to positions or roles within social groupings. This nonetheless has implications for group identity as a whole. Roughly speaking, this view of identity best corresponds to our subjects answering questions such as Who am I in this particular situation and how does this relate to who I am in other social groups? and How is my own self-conception based on, or affected by, my belonging in this particular group? The focus here, one could say, is on the interaction of individuals and the group in the construction and negotiation of identities and in affecting social behaviours.

There are at least two schools of research that employ identity in this second way. The most important for this study is what is known as "*social* identity theory."[23] The "social" descriptor in social identity refers to the part of one's self-conception that is based on, and influenced by, membership in a group, be that an ethnic group or some other cultural or social group.[24] Social identity theorists who follow the lead of the social psychologist Henri Tajfel (1981) tend to use the term "social identity" to refer to an "individual's knowledge that he/she belongs to certain social groups together with some emotional and value significance to him/her of the group membership."[25]

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22. Malina 1981.

23. For social identity theory see, for instance, Tajfel 1981; Tajfel, ed. 1982; Tajfel and Turner 1986; Abrams and Hogg 1990; Verkuyten 2004, 39–73.

24. See Tajfel 1981, 13–56.

25. Tajfel as cited by Abrams and Hogg 1990, 2.

Social identity theorists in line with Tajfel also pay attention to interactions between different groups as they affect social identity. So issues concerning outsiders' categorizations of a particular group or its members, including stereotypes, are important here. Esler (1998a, 2003) is among the scholars that have fruitfully employed social identity theory to shed light on dynamics of group conflict reflected in Paul's letters to the Galatians and to the Romans.

Another variant of the second main approach to identity is represented by sociologists such as Sheldon Stryker and Peter J. Burke, who speak of their own approach as "identity theory" (to be distinguished from Tajfelian "*social* identity theory").[26] This symbolic interactionist tradition in sociological social psychology stresses the interplay of self and social structure, paying special attention to "individual role relationships and identity variability, motivation, and differentiation."[27] In this view, the "core of an identity is the categorization of the self as an occupant of a role and incorporating into the self the meanings and expectations associated with the role and its performance."[28] "Identities are the meanings that individuals hold for themselves—what it means to be who they are," as Burke states.[29] This approach is focussed on the individual self, on identities housed in the individual, and on how these manifest themselves in social relations or social structures. Stryker and Burke's approach is most suited to conditions where the individual behaviours of subjects can be carefully analyzed, which is not the case in studying people in antiquity. I will nonetheless occasionally draw on insights from their theories and findings.

Both this interactionist approach to identity and other studies of ethnic identity specifically give attention to the multiple nature of identities among individuals, something that will be important to keep in mind when we turn to multiple affiliations among associations in chapters 6 and 7. Burke is interested in "questions of how multiple identities relate to each other, how they are switched on or off, and, when they are on, how the person manages to maintain congruence between perceptions and standards for each identity."[30] For Burke here, identities are "housed" in the individual and activated within certain situations. He notes three different conditions, the second of which is relevant to the discussion in chapters 6 and 7: (1) persons may have multiple role identities within a single group, (2) persons may have similar role identities in more than one group, (3) persons may have different role identities within intersecting groups.[31]

It is important to note that studies of ethnicities and migration make similar observations concerning the "situational" character of social and ethnic identities.[32] How one identifies oneself in terms of social, ethnic, and other identities may shift

26. See Stryker and Burke 2000; Stets and Burke 2003.
27. Stets and Burke 2003, 133.
28. Stets and Burke 2003, 134.
29. Burke 2003, 196.
30. Burke 2003, 196–97.
31. Burke 2003, 200–201.
32. See Kaufert 1977; Howard 2000, 381–82; Waters 2000; Verkuyten 2004, 149–181.

from one situation to another, and there is potential for a blending of identities, or hybridity. Rina Benmayor, a historian of migration, stresses that the personal testimony of immigrants speaks "to how im/migrant subjects constantly build, reinvent, synthesize, or even collage identities from multiple sources and resources, often lacing them with deep ambivalence."[33] Membership in, or affiliation with, multiple groups plays a role in these options for identification. Joseph M. Kaufert notes that studies of "multiple ethnic loyalties have stressed that individuals and groups have an array of alternate identities from which to choose. They will adopt—or be perceived by others as maintaining—different ethnic identities in different situations."[34] Kaufert also notes the potential for "dissonance" between conflicting identities in different situations.[35]

The collective and individual perspectives on identity outlined above do share in common certain features, including a recognition of the dynamism, malleability, and multiplicity of identities, as well as the situational nature and development of identities as understood and expressed in particular places and times. In other words, the answers to the questions Who are we? or Who am I in relation to this group or situation? varied and changed over time despite elements of stability.[36] Identities of groups or individuals are negotiated and renegotiated, expressed and reexpressed; they are not static.

Several recent social-scientific studies usefully combine insights from the perspectives outlined above to help explain dynamics of identity in terms of two main, interdependent factors: "internal definitions" within the group and "external definitions" (or "external categorizations") by contemporary outsiders. This corresponds to ascribed (internal) and attributed (external) identifications. These two factors frame the discussion of identity throughout the chapters in this book, with some chapters concentrating more on the former or on the latter, and others dealing with both of these formative identity factors simultaneously.

Let me briefly explain internal and external definitions here, and then I will expand this explanation in subsequent chapters with case studies of Judeans, Christians, and others in the Greco-Roman world. Richard Jenkins (1994), for instance, who builds on the work of both Barth (1969) and Tajfel (1981), explains how social and ethnic identities are constructed and reconfigured in relation to both internal definitions and external categorizations.[37] Internally, members of a group express their identities and formulate what they consider to be the basis of their belonging together as a group, engaging in self-definitions and in the construction of boundaries between insiders and outsiders.

Externally, outsiders categorize and label a particular group or members of a group. This external process of categorization can range from a high level of consensus

33. Benmayor 1994, 15.

34. Kaufert 1977, 126.

35. Kaufert 1977, 127.

36. On the primordial vs. circumstantial debate about ethnicity, which cannot be fully addressed here, see Scott 1990; Verkuyten 2004, 81–90.

37. Cf. Tajfel 1981.

with internal modes of definition (as when an outsider's categories overlap significantly with internal modes of self-definition) to conflictual categorizations (as when outsiders categorize or label members of another group in terms of negative stereotypes). The relational nature of identity formulations and the shifting boundaries between a group and others means that even these negative categorizations or stereotypes of outsiders come to play a role in identity constructions through the process of internalization. Internalization involves the categorized person or group reacting in some way to external categorizations, as I explain in chapters 5 and 8. These interdependent internal definitions and external categorizations occupy the chapters in this volume.

Ethnic Studies and Migration Theory

Closely related to studies of identity, particularly ethnic identity, are social-scientific studies of ethnic groups, minority groups, and migration, including processes of assimilation or acculturation. Ethnic and migration studies have developed into somewhat of a subdiscipline within the social sciences, as reflected in journals such as *The Journal of Ethnic and Migration Studies*, *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, and *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies*.[38] I have already touched on the ascriptive (rather than primordial) nature of ethnicity as it is understood in the wake of Barth's (1969) anthropological study of ethnic boundaries. Although precise definitions vary within the social-scientific literature, there is a commonly shared use of the term "ethnic group" to describe a group that is perceived by members and, secondarily, by outsiders in particular ways. As Jimy M. Sanders's survey of the literature points out, there are two common denominators in the social constructions of members and of outsiders that form the basis of many scholarly definitions of ethnic group—the cultural and the geographical:

> The first of these elements is usually viewed as a social construction involving insiders and outsiders mutually acknowledging group differences in cultural beliefs and practices. Insiders and outsiders do not necessarily agree over the details of the acknowledged cultural division. . . . The second basic element used to define an ethnic group pertains to geographical origins, and therefore social origins, that are foreign to the host society. While this element usually has an objective basis, it is also partly subjective. The native-born generations of an ethnic group sometimes continue to be identified by outsiders, and in-group members may self-identify, in terms of their foreign origin. The ways in which insiders and outsiders go about characterizing a group, and thereby positioning it and its members in the larger society, are responsive

38. For an overview of this subdiscipline, see Brettell and Hollifield 2000, Banton 2001, and Vertovec 2007.

to the social and historical context within which intergroup interactions take place.[39]

So an ethnic group is a group that sees itself as sharing certain distinctive cultural characteristics that are associated with a particular geographical origin or homeland. As mentioned earlier, this distinctiveness is usually described by participants in terms of a shared history and ancestry (regardless of whether or not this is objectively the case). The ethnic group is characterized by fictive kinship and participants often interpret these notions of kinship as primordial or inborn.[40] The existence of an ethnic group is maintained through what Barth and others call "ethnic boundaries" between the group and other groups within society. Ethnic identities are dependent on the everyday interactions among members of the group and between members and other groups. These interactions result in the formulation of notions of "us" and "them."

The quotation from Sanders also indicates the primary importance of the category ethnic group in studying migration and in studying what I also call "immigrant groups" or "immigrant associations." The majority of ethnic group studies in the social sciences are focussed on immigrants in a host society or a "diaspora," as well as the relation of such groups to the homeland.[41]

Although related to the concept of ethnic group, it is important to clarify another concept that I employ in a particular way in this study: "cultural minority group" or "cultural minorities."[42] This concept is more generic than the specific category ethnic group. I use the term cultural minority group to describe a group that is, numerically, in the minority in a particular context and which has certain cultural customs that are often highlighted as distinctive by both its members and by those outside the group, especially by the "cultural majority" in a particular locale or region. So it is possible to have a cultural minority group that is not an immigrant or ethnic group that shares notions of ancestral kinship (e.g., certain Christian groups in the first two centuries, as I explain below). Still most migrant ethnic groups that settle elsewhere and represent a minority position in terms of certain key cultural practices (e.g., Judeans in the Greek cities of Asia Minor) would also be cultural minority groups.

My use of "minority" in this terminology is in line with that of the British sociologist Michael Banton, for whom a minority is "a category consisting of less than half the number of some named population."[43] Philip Gleason's (1991) history of the concept "minority" shows how Banton is here avoiding popular, political, and certain sociological definitions (e.g., avoiding Louis Wirth's definition). These other definitions tend to problematically emphasize experiences of discrimination or prejudice as the main criterion in defining "minority" (even to the point of calling a group that

39. Sanders 2002, 327–328.

40. Cf. Verkuyten 2004, 81–90.

41. On the concept of "diaspora" as it has been developed in this area, see Brubaker 2005.

42. On problems with definitions of "minority," see Meyers 1984 and, more importantly, Gleason 1991. Cf. Layton-Henry 2001.

43. Banton as cited by Gleason 412. See Banton 1977; Banton 1983, 130–31.

is statistically in the majority a minority based on social discrimination).[44] Although groups to whom I apply the term did, at certain times and places, experience discrimination, I do not consider victimization integral to my use of the descriptor "minority" in cultural minority group.

This is also a good place to briefly state what I mean by "culture," which is a concept that is closely bound up in discussions of ethnicity and identity. William H. Sewell's (1999) helpful survey of debates concerning the use of the concept of culture within anthropology argues that, despite certain anthropologists' observations concerning its problems and ambiguities, we should carefully refine definitions of the concept. The concept of culture continues to be useful not only in anthropology but also in social history, Sewell's own area. Sewell shows how two different approaches to defining culture can be seen as complementary in certain respects: culture-as-system-of-symbols, on the one hand, and culture-as-practice, on the other.

Clifford Geertz's influential explanation of culture sees it as a coherent "system of inherited conceptions expressed in symbolic forms by means of which men [*sic*] communicate, perpetuate, and develop their knowledge about and attitudes towards life."[45] Both cultural anthropologists and cultural sociologists tend to use the term culture to refer to processes of human *meaning-making* embodied in symbols, values, and practices that are shared and passed on by a particular group.[46] Yet Sewell appropriately notes that such definitions of culture as a coherent system tend towards synchronic analysis (at a particular time), rather than diachronic analysis (through time): "Historians are generally uncomfortable with synchronic concepts. As they took up the study of culture, they subtly—but usually without comment—altered the concept by stressing the contradictoriness and malleability of cultural meanings and by seeking out the mechanisms by which meanings were transformed."[47] This, Sewell points out, is more in line with some trends among certain anthropologists who emphasize the performative and changeable character of culture (much like my observations about the changeability of ethnicity and identity). These anthropologists see culture less in terms of symbols and more in terms of tools that are called upon in particular situations and with particular aims in mind.

Sewell suggests that both the "system" and "practice" approaches may be understood as complementary in certain respects, and I adopt this view:

> The employment of a symbol can be expected to accomplish a particular goal only because the symbols have more or less determinate meanings. . . . Hence practice implies system. But it is equally true that the system has no existence apart from the succession of practices that instantiate, reproduce, or—most interestingly—transform it. Hence system implies practice.[48]

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44. Gleason 1991, 399–400; cf. Meyers 1984, 8, 11.
45. Geertz 1973, 89.
46. Cf. Geertz 1973; Sewell 1999; Spillman 2007.
47. Sewell 1999, 45.
48. Sewell 1999, 47.

Certain theories and conceptual tools that have been developed in the study of culture, migration, and ethnicity are useful in understanding interactions between a given ethnic group or cultural minority group and other groups in surrounding society. Issues of identity are once again central in such interactions. Benmayor characterizes migration as "a long-term if not life-long process of negotiating identity, difference, and the right to fully exist and flourish in the new context. . . . [T]he experience and effects of migration are long-term and critical in shaping and reshaping both collective and individual identities."[49]

Anthropologists, sociologists, and social psychologists often explain such processes of negotiation in the place of settlement using theories of acculturation and assimilation. At the outset I should acknowledge that my own exploration into these social-scientific methods was inspired, in part, by two scholars who usefully apply similar insights in studying ancient Christians and Judeans respectively: David Balch (1986) shows the value in understanding the household codes in 1 Peter in terms of acculturation, and Barclay (1996) engages in an excellent study of assimilation among diaspora Judeans, particularly though not solely in connection with literary sources.

Theories of assimilation and acculturation deal with processes that take place when two groups come into contact with each other, with resulting changes in the boundaries and cultural ways of either or both groups. In chapters 6 and 7, I expound a particular framework for assessing such processes among Syrian and Judean immigrant or ethnic groups based on the works of Milton Yinger, Martin N. Marger, John W. Berry, and others. There I explain three main clusters of concepts relating to (1) cultural assimilation, or acculturation; (2) structural assimilation, which has both formal and informal dimensions; (3) and dissimilation (differentiation) or cultural maintenance.[50] Processes of assimilation and dissimilation take place at both the individual and group levels, resulting in the renegotiation of boundaries between a given cultural minority group or its members and other groups within their contexts. So issues of group identities and boundaries are bound up in this area of analysis.

Concepts relating to dissimilation or cultural maintenance are particularly important to emphasize since these reflect a turn away from older models of assimilation in sociology. Certain older models, which are not the basis of the present study, tend to assume the ultimate disintegration of ethnic or cultural minority group boundaries and, with them, the vanishing of distinctive cultural practices in relation to the majority culture. Closely related is the tendency to view acculturation as a one-way process rather than a cultural exchange.

Similar methodological problems are also noted in recent studies of the concept of "Romanization" (a specific approach to acculturation in the Roman era) specifically. As Jane Webster (2001) stresses in her survey of the literature on the concept of Romanization, we need a more sophisticated approach to cultural exchanges in antiquity that does not assume adoption of Roman practices as the principal mode of

49. Benmayor and Skotnes 1994, 8.

50. Berry 1980; Yinger 1981; Marger 1991, 117–20; Berry 1997.

acculturation in the provinces. Instead, acculturation was a process of blending, and Webster suggests that the concept of "Creolization"—developed in connection with Early Modern processes of cultural exchanges in the interaction of European peoples and Native American, African, and African Caribbean societies—better captures this blending element. Although I agree with the problems that Webster identifies, I nonetheless consider the concepts of assimilation and acculturation appropriate so long as we recognize the complexities of cultural exchanges which do indeed often involve blending and two-way interchanges. Such an approach that recognizes the multidimensional processes involved in cultural exchanges and the resulting "blending" factor fits well with the multiple and situational character of identities and ethnicities as I explained those concepts earlier.

Judeans and Christians as Ethnic Groups or Cultural Minority Groups

The applicability of the modern scholarly (etic) category ethnic group to gatherings of Judeans and to other immigrant groups in the ancient context may be somewhat uncontroversial. As peoples with *shared notions* regarding common ways of life and geographical and genealogical origins, migrant groups of Judeans, Phoenicians, and others naturally fit under this rubric. Both ancient observers and Judeans conceived of Judeans specifically in terms of what a modern social scientist would consider an ethnic group.

In this connection, it is important to note where I stand in current scholarly debate regarding the most appropriate way to translate the term Ἰουδαῖοι (*Ioudaioi*). The term is traditionally rendered "Jews" but rendered "Judeans" throughout my study when referring to subjects in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, up to at least the third century CE. I agree with recent scholarly contributions by Esler (2003), Mason (2007), and Barclay (2007), who argue that "Judeans" is the most accurate and most appropriate way to translate this term in the first centuries.[51] The ancient use of the term "Judeans" involves geographic, ethnic, and cultural associations with the region of Judea (tribal Judah) proper or with a broader conception of Judea (e.g., Strabo *Geogr.* 16.2.21; Pliny *Nat. Hist.* 5.15; Josephus *War* 2.232), encompassing Galilee and other areas historically associated with the Israelites or with the temple-state of Jerusalem in the wake of Hasmonean expansion in the late second century BCE.[52]

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51. Mason (2007, 493–510) convincingly challenges the views of Schwartz (1992) and Shaye J. D. Cohen (1999, 69–106), who argued for a supposed shift from "ethnic" meanings to "religious" meanings of *Ioudaioi* in the Babylonian (Schwartz) and Hasmonean (Cohen) periods respectively. Now also see Elliott 2007.

52. This general use of the term Judeans does not preclude instances when ancient persons or authors use more specific geographic or ethnic identifications, such as identifications based on a particular district (e.g., Galilean) or city/village (e.g., Jerusalemite [*IJO* II 21.9]; Nazarene). When detailing peoples gathered in Jerusalem for a festival, for instance, Josephus himself distinguishes

Adopting this geographic, ethnic, and cultural understanding of the term helps to avoid misunderstandings among modern lay readers and some modern scholars who may tend to separate "religion" from its ethnic or cultural matrix. Along with this, what has traditionally been called "Judaism," with implications of a religious category, is better described using terms such as Judean cultural ways, or Judean customs, or Judean approaches to honouring their God. Rather than repeating the convincing arguments of Mason and others, I instead clarify aspects of this debate at key points in subsequent chapters. There is a sense in which this study, as a whole, is an argument for approaching Judeans in the diaspora primarily as one among many immigrant and ethnic groups in the Greco-Roman world (rather than as a "religious" group more specifically).

Judean groups were immigrant groups settled in a diaspora where certain aspects of their way of life put them in a minority position in particular cultural and social respects. Most important among these cultural practices and worldviews was the Judean tendency to honour only the God of their homeland. Unlike some other immigrant ethnic groups in the Greek cities, this entailed Judean nonrecognition of the gods of others, and nonparticipation in honouring, or sacrificing to, those gods in social contexts (what is traditionally called their "monotheism"). At times, this became a source of tensions with other groups and led certain people to label Judeans "atheists," "haters of human kind," and other more extreme charges which I explain in chapter 8. Certain ancient observers also noticed other customs of the Judeans which these observers considered peculiar, including the Judeans' abstinence from pork, their Sabbath day of rest, their practice of circumcision, and their avoidance of images.[53] Although secondary to the outstanding practice of honouring only the Judean God, these peculiarities, too, suggest ancient perceptions of Judeans that fit with a scholarly use of the category cultural minority group. In this sense, diaspora Judean gatherings are both ethnic groups and cultural minority groups as I employ these etic concepts in this study.

Despite the applicability of ethnic group and cultural minority group to Judeans, it is important to make some clarifications here, which will be spelled out more fully in subsequent chapters. The cultural landscape of the Roman Empire was significantly diverse, and this diversity involved local or regional customs and peculiarities, including those of other ethnic, immigrant, or minority groups. As well, there were local cultural variations and differences not only from one region or people to another, but even from one Greek city to the next in the same region (see Strabo's descriptions of local customs and practices in his *Geography*, for instance). Within this context, those who honoured the Judean God were not the only group of people to engage in activities that could, at times, be viewed as distinctive, peculiar, strange, or superstitious by an elite author, as Plutarch's and Seneca's treatises on "superstition" illustrate.[54]

Galileans and Idumeans from Judeans; here he is thinking of the more specific meaning of inhabitants of Judea proper (*Ant.* 17.254).

53. See the discussion in Schäfer 1997.

54. Plutarch *On Superstition*. Seneca's treatise is preserved only in Augustine's *City of God*: *Civ.* 6.10–11 (cf. Tertullian *Apol.* 12). Both Plutarch and Seneca include discussion of the "superstitious"

Seneca critiques castration practices among devotees of the Syrian goddess and Sabbath observance among devotees of the Judean God. Interestingly enough, Seneca's complaint about the latter is not that "the customs of this accursed race" (as he calls them) are universally rejected or viewed as strange superstitions by the majority, but that these practices among a minority "are now received throughout all the world" (a claim that needs to be taken with a grain of salt).[55] Notwithstanding certain Roman upper-class authors' perspectives, the existence of such a range of local customs among various peoples would also mean that *such variety was in some sense normal and expected among contemporaries*, only some of whom would happen to be more or less familiar with the customs of the Judeans specifically.[56]

Furthermore, the list of Judean customs mentioned above that some pinpointed as distinctively Judean or as strange should not lead us to ignore the many other ways in which Judeans were indistinguishable from their neighbours in the diaspora. Shaye J. D. Cohen (1993) makes this point clearly: in respect to significant factors for identity, including "looks, clothing, speech, names, or occupations," Judeans were indistinguishable from many Greeks, Romans, and others.

The applicability of the categories ethnic group and cultural minority group to early Christians deserves further attention here. I would argue that, in some cases, "ethnic group" is applicable to Christian groups, or groups of Jesus-followers. Yet, in general, the scholarly, etic concept of "cultural minority group" is more appropriate in describing a significant number of ancient Christian groups in the first two centuries in many locales.

"Ethnic group" would most obviously be appropriate in reference to groups of Jesus-followers that consisted primarily of Judeans, such as some groups that were labelled "Ebionites" by certain Christian authors.[57] It is important to remember that the earliest Jesus movements began within the Judean cultural sphere, and certain groups continued to reflect that origin more than others. In the primordial understanding of ethnicity as inborn (based on shared blood) and unchanging, which is a popular usage *not* adopted in this study, most other Christian groups whose membership consisted mainly of gentiles (non-Judeans) from various ethnic groups could not be described as an ethnic group at all.

However, from the perspective of modern social-scientific definitions, which see ethnicity in more flexible and ascriptive terms, some other Christian groups may well be understood within the context of ethnic identities. As I show in chapter 8, ancient

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customs of those who follow the Syrian goddess, for instance (Seneca in *Civ.* 6.10; Plutarch *Superst.* 170D). Plutarch, like Seneca, pinpoints the peculiarity of the Judeans' Sabbath observance (Plutarch *Superst.* 169C).

55. Trans. W. M. Green (LCL) as cited by Stern 1974–76, 1.431.

56. A general lack of knowledge about Judean ways is shown, for instance, in Josephus's assumption that some among his educated audience of Greeks and Romans in Flavian Rome will be ignorant of Judean abstention from work on the seventh day (*War* 1.146), the very issue about which Seneca happens to know and complain (cf. Mason 2008, 61).

57. On such Judean followers of Jesus, see the studies in Skarsaune and Hvalvik 2007.

Greek and Roman observers sometimes categorized early Christian groups drawing on stereotypes that were associated with "foreign" peoples and ethnic groups. The perspectives of insiders are particularly important here since the modern concept of ethnic identity is defined in terms of the participants' perceptions of belonging together as a people with a shared origin, fictive kinship, and a particular way of life. Certain early Christian authors (who were not themselves originally from Judea) describe Christian groups in terms of ethnicity, depicting the early Christians as a people or nation comparable to other ethnic groups, as recent studies by Buell (2005) and Aaron P. Johnson (2006) show so well.

An early example of such discourses of ethnicity is 1 Peter, which is appropriately described as a diaspora letter. Although some scholars suggest that 1 Peter's language of "foreigners," "exiles," and "dispersion" may refer to the actual immigrant status of these Christians, many other scholars suggest it is likely that such concepts are used metaphorically to express early Christian identities in a particular way.[58] Here my working hypothesis is the latter. In this case, 1 Peter describes the identities of his addressees in the provinces of Asia Minor in terms of them being "foreigners" (πάροικοι) and "exiles in the diaspora" (παρεπιδήμος διασπορᾶς). The author of 1 Peter draws heavily on Judean ethnic identities to express the self-understanding of these non-Judean (gentile) followers of Jesus: "But you are a chosen race (γένος), a royal priesthood, a holy nation (ἔθνος), a people (λαός) for God's possession. . . . Once you were no people but now you are God's people" (1 Pet 2:9–10).[59] The author also expresses group identity in terms of kinship, calling them a "brotherhood" (1 Pet 2:17; cf. 5:9). Here, then, a Christian defines groups of non-Judean Jesus-followers (cf. 1 Pet 4:3–5) in terms of ethnicity, particularly drawing on discourses of Judean ethnicity. They are described as though they are immigrant or ethnic groups, and he hopes his hearers will adopt a similar way of thinking about their memberships in these groups (cf. *Diogn.* 5.1–5).

Johnson cites many similar examples of early Christian authors defining Christians in terms of ethnicity. Among the more important ones is a passage in one of the earliest Christian apologies (defensive writings) by Aristides of Athens (early second century). There Aristides speaks of Christians as kin (γένος) and a nation or people (ἔθνος) comparable to other peoples:

> For it is clear to us that there are three races (*genē*) of humans in this world. These are the worshippers of those whom you call gods, the Jews [Judeans] and the Christians. And again, those who worship many gods are divided into three races: the Chaldaeans, the Greeks and the Egyptians. For these have become the founders and teachers of the veneration and worship of the many-named gods to the other nations (*ethnesin*; Aristides, *Apol.* 2.2).[60]

58. See, for instance, Feldmeier 1992. John H. Elliott (1990 [1981], 59–100, esp. pp. 70–72) is among those that hold to a literal understanding of the terms.

59. Trans. RSV, with adaptations.

60. Trans. Johnson 2006, 6.

Elsewhere Aristides claims common ancestry for Christians and traces their "genealogy" from Christ (*Apol.* 15; cf. Justin *Dial.* 123.9). It is also noteworthy that an early Christian author such as Aristides would group together and closely ally Judeans and Christians as peoples who do not "worship many gods" (monolatrists or monotheists) in contradistinction from those peoples that did (polytheists). A minority cultural position is contrasted to the majority position. Johnson, who also fully explores such ethnic argumentation in a writing by Eusebius, concludes that

> [e]thnic (or national) identity played a fundamental role in the ways in which Christians argued and articulated their faith. When Christian apologists went about the task of defending themselves within this conceptual framework, the "others" with whom they engaged were all seen as the representatives of distinct peoples, nations, or ethnicities. These apologists, therefore, defined Christianity as the way of life of a particular people whose strong roots in the distant past were superior to the other peoples from whom they marked themselves off.[61]

So there are good reasons to consider certain early Christians within the context of ethnic identities and rivalries in antiquity, at least in the case of those that did adopt such discourses of identity construction.

"Cultural minority group" is another closely related, though broader, concept which may be even more applicable to many Christian congregations in the first two centuries. My use of the term is less technical than it is descriptive, and I employ it in a way that is meant to draw attention to the fact that Christian congregations were not the only minority groups in the Greco-Roman world, something that I underline in subsequent chapters. In the case of groups of Jesus-followers in most locales in the first two centuries, these groups were in the minority with respect to their rejection of sacrificing to the Greek or Roman gods. Quite often this cultural choice was noticed and highlighted by outsiders and insiders, who sometimes recognized that these practices derived in some way from Judean customs (with some exceptions, such as certain "gnostic" Christian groups or Marcionite groups). As Michele Murray (2004) documents so well, there is also considerable evidence of the continuing involvement of certain gentile Jesus-followers in the activities of diaspora synagogues, including attending synagogue and celebrating Judean festivals.[62] The adoption of honouring the Judean God (and his messiah) and the rejection of recognizing and sacrificing to the gods of surrounding peoples in the majority culture was a highlighted feature of the cultural practices of many Christian congregations, both in terms of internal self-definition (e.g., 1 Thess 1:9–10; 1 Pet 4:1–5) and in terms of external categorizations (e.g.,

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61. Johnson 2006, 6.

62. Cf. Dunn 2008, 2: "Writers such as Justin, Origen, Aphrahat, and Chrysostom had to warn Christians forthrightly on the subject. The Councils of Antioch (341) and Laodicea (363) explicitly prohibited Christians from practicing their religion with Jews, in particular from celebrating their festivals with them."

"atheists," as in *Mart. Poly.* 3.2; 9.2). This highlighted feature sometimes played a role in social harassment or persecution of members of these minority groups, as I discuss in chapter 8.[63]

In using this more general descriptive term in reference to Christian groups, I am quite self-consciously avoiding a more specific and common etic categorization of Christian groups using the sociological concept of the "sect." In *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations* (2003a), I have explained what I see as some key problems in the wholesale application of sect typologies to early Christian groups, and I do return to some of these issues in subsequent chapters. The purpose in my calling many Christian congregations "cultural minority groups" is not to make the same mistake in lumping all Christian groups together as though they were the same in contradistinction to other groups in that societal context. Rather, this terminology helps us to recognize that certain Christian congregations, like some other ethnic or cultural minorities in specific locales, were in the minority with respect to certain highlighted cultural practices. It is also important to stress that, despite this shared minority position based on rejection of the gods of others, there were nonetheless considerable differences from one Christian congregation to the next with respect to various other cultural and other factors. This internal diversity among Christian congregations despite a shared minority position in other respects will become clear as we proceed. Furthermore, circumstances would change over time and differ from one locale to another, and as Christianity became more prominent in particular locales into the third and fourth centuries, the descriptor "cultural minority" would no longer be appropriate.

So in certain ways both Judean gatherings and Christian congregations can be studied as instances of cultural minority groups in cities of the Roman Empire whose perceived distinctiveness arose—to varying degrees—from Judean cultural connections (e.g., honouring the Judean God and drawing on similar Judean scriptural traditions associated with that God).[64] The degree to which these distinctive cultural practices were highlighted, or overlooked in favour of shared cultural ways, would depend on the situation and on the particular people involved, both insiders and outsiders.

This cultural minority position makes it particularly appropriate to employ modern social-scientific tools for assessing acculturation and assimilation in studying both Judean gatherings and Christian congregations, even though many of the latter were not ethnic or immigrant groups. In other words, as with Judeans who were also minority groups, we can address Christian congregations in terms of members' *en*culturation into the minority group, on the one hand, and acculturation or dissimilation in relation to aspects of majority cultures, on the other. Members of Christian congregations would be enculturated to varying degrees into the ways of the minority group. These members, or the group as a whole, would assimilate or dissimilate in relation to certain aspects of life in the cities of the Roman Empire. The more precise balance of each of these two factors would differ from one Christian group or individual to the next.

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63. See Harland 2003a, 239–264.

64. Cf. Stowers 1995.

Overview of This Study

Now that we have some sense of my social-historical approach and my theoretical framework, let me briefly outline the progression of this study. In important respects, both diaspora Judeans and followers of Jesus shared much in common with other associations when it comes to dynamics of identity and belonging. Part 1 introduces associations and explains how both Judean gatherings and Christian congregations were often viewed as associations, both by insiders (e.g., Philo and Josephus) and by outsiders (e.g., Roman authorities, Lucian, and Celsus; ch. 1). Followers of Jesus, such as Ignatius of Antioch, further illustrate how Christians themselves could express their identities in terms drawn from local cultural life, including the world of associations (ch. 2). Here external categorizations by outsiders and internal self-definitions by insiders overlap in processes of identity formation and negotiation.

In part 2, I explore internal definitions of identity with a focus on familial language of belonging among members in certain groups. Quite well known is the early Christian use of sibling language ("brothers") to express and strengthen bonds within congregations. Contrary to assumptions within scholarship, however, this practice was not uniquely Christian, and epigraphic and papyrological evidence shows that "brother" language was also used within some other groups and associations (ch. 3). Furthermore, parental language, such as "mother of the synagogue" or "father of the association," was another important way in which members within Judean gatherings and other associations expressed social hierarchies and identified with other members of the group (ch. 4). The Judean use of such parental terminology mirrors similar practices within Greek cities in the Roman Empire, pointing to one instance of acculturation to the practices of civic communities generally and associations specifically.

In part 3, I turn to evidence for ethnically based associations of immigrants, including Judeans. Placing Judean gatherings within the framework of other, less-studied, immigrant associations and cultural minority groups provides new perspectives on dynamics of identity maintenance and acculturation. The case of associations formed by Phoenicians or Syrians abroad illustrates the value of comparing immigrant populations and ethnic groups within this milieu (ch. 5). A regionally focussed study of Judeans at Hierapolis in Asia Minor then offers further insights into the complexity of interactions between cultural minorities and other groups within cities in the Roman Empire, including processes of assimilation and cultural maintenance (ch. 6).

Finally, in part 4 I turn to evidence for tensions and competition in intergroup relations. I show how rivalries and external categorizations play a role in the formation, negotiation, and expression of identities. Cohabitation and cooperation among various groups in the ancient city did not preclude rivalries among associations, such as those in cities addressed by John's Apocalypse (ch. 7). In Sardis and Smyrna, for instance, associations of various kinds could express their identities in ways that countered other groups. Such groups were, in some respects, competitors for the allegiances of members. Evidence for certain individuals' memberships in multiple associations

draws further attention to the plural nature of identities in the ancient context, as well as the potential for links among groups through certain individuals' social networks.

In the case of Greek and Roman perspectives on foreigners or cultural minority groups, such as Judeans and followers of Jesus, ethnic rivalries and processes of identity formation could take place, in part, through stereotypes of the "alien" other and the portrait of the "anti-association" (ch. 8). Charges of human sacrifice, cannibalism, and incest which were laid against certain Christian groups and other cultural minorities are better understood within this ethnographic framework. Sometimes cultural minorities themselves engaged in analogous characterizations of the majority culture (or of associations in the majority culture). Furthermore, similar techniques were also used in rivalries between different cultural minority groups, such as the rivalries that took place among various Christian groups (orthodox groups vs. heretical groups). These ethnographic discourses were, in themselves, part of ongoing processes of internal self-definition and external categorization in relation to the "other" on the part of a given cultural group, whether in the majority or in the minority.

Moreover, depending on the perceiver and the moment of perception, Judean gatherings and Christian congregations could be viewed as either typical associations or "foreign" anti-associations. Giving attention to both sides of this dynamic, this study places Judeans and their close relatives, the followers of Jesus, within the framework of identity formation, negotiation, and communication in the Greco-Roman world.

Part 1

Judean and Christian Identities in the Context of Associations

1

Associations and Group Identity among Judeans and Christians

Introduction

In this chapter, I argue that certain social dimensions of group life among Judean (Jewish) gatherings and Christian congregations, including issues of identity, are better understood when we place these groups within the framework of unofficial associations in the Greco-Roman world. Despite their position as cultural minority groups, synagogues and congregations should not be studied in isolation from analogous social structures of that world. This is something that certain scholars are increasingly recognizing, especially since the 1980s.[1] Still, in categorizing many Judean gatherings and Christian congregations as associations, I am going against the grain of a more common scholarly categorization in social-historical studies of Christian origins.

It has become standard—one might even say orthodox—within scholarship on early Christianity to categorize virtually all congregations of Jesus-followers, and sometimes Judean gatherings as well, as "sects" in terms drawn from modern sociological studies, particularly studies by Bryan R. Wilson.[2] In some cases, scholars who categorize these groups as sects are hesitant about the value of comparing synagogues and congregations with contemporary associations, stressing supposed differences between the groups precisely concerning the relationship between the group and society.[3] The emphasis in such sectarian categorizations is often placed on the negative or ambivalent social relations that existed between the sect and surrounding society. Discourses of separation and distinction predominate.[4]

There may be benefits to viewing *some* minority groups or associations through the lenses of sociological typologies of sects in order to provide insights into certain types of social and intergroup relations. However, we should not assume that all Judean gatherings

1. On the history of scholarship, see the introduction and, more extensively, Harland 2003a, 177–212.

2. Wilson 1967, 1970, 1973, 1990. See Harland (2003a, 177–195) for further discussion of problems in the application of Wilson's typology to early Christianity.

3. E.g., Meeks 1983, 78–80. Cf. Schmeller 1995; McCready 1996.

4. E.g., Elliott 1990 [1981], 79; Meeks 1983, 35, 77–78.

or Christian congregations are best categorized and understood within a typology of "sects." As I began to show in *Associations, Synagogues, and Congregations*, such wholesale categorizations tend to obscure a range of evidence, and this includes the sort of evidence for integration and common modes of identity construction, negotiation, and communication that I explore throughout the present study.

Alongside this overall statement regarding where Judeans and Christians fit on a social map of the ancient Mediterranean, I draw attention to important implications for identities in this chapter. In particular, I begin to outline the importance of both external categorizations and internal definitions of identity. In this case, there are many instances when both outsiders and insiders identified Judean gatherings and Christian congregations in terms drawn from association life. So my scholarly choice to categorize these groups as associations is based, to a significant degree, on how many people in the ancient context, including some Judeans and Christians, viewed such groups. I begin by defining associations and outlining some common social sources of association membership before turning to ancient external and internal definitions of Judean gatherings and Christian congregations as associations.

What Are Associations?

Basic Definition

Let me begin by clarifying what I mean by "associations" and how this relates to the concept of "voluntary associations" as it is used in the social sciences. Then I will move on to social networks that contributed to their memberships. I use the term "associations" to describe social groupings in antiquity that shared certain characteristics in common and that were often recognized as analogous groups by people and by governmental institutions. Associations were small, unofficial ("private") groups, usually consisting of about ten to fifty members (but sometimes with larger memberships into the hundreds), that met together on a regular basis to socialize with one another and to honour both earthly and divine benefactors, which entailed a variety of internal and external activities.

With regard to external relations, these groups engaged in ongoing connections with those outside the group, particularly with wealthier members of society who could assume the role of benefactors (donors) or leaders of the group in question. In return these benefactors received honours from the association, a system of benefaction that I explain more fully in chapter 7. Sometimes associations could also return the favour by supporting particular members of the elite in their political goals or honour-pursuing competition with others.[5] Associations could on occasion interact with civic and imperial institutions or functionaries as well. The level and frequency of involvement in such contacts varied from one group to the next.[6]

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5. See, for example, Philo's discussion of Isodoros and associations in Alexandria (*Flacc.* 135–45). Cf. Cicero, *In Piso.* 8–9; *Pro Sestio* 33–34; *Dom.* 74; Quintus Cicero, *Pet.* 8.29–30. On *collegia* and elections at Pompeii, see Tanzer 1939 and Franklin 1980.

6. On external relations of associations, see Harland 2003a, 115–76.

Internally, associations participated in a range of activities, including honouring the gods through rituals, including sacrifice and the accompanying meal. The importance of the meal in connection with the gatherings and festivals of such groups draws attention to the fact that what we as moderns might distinguish as "religious" (sacrificing to the gods) and "social" (meals) were intimately tied together in antiquity, as Stanley Stowers's study of sacrifice also stresses.[7] All associations were in some sense religious, and it is problematic to speak of particular groups as religious associations simply because their patron deities happen to be mentioned in their title. Associations served other functions for their membership internally, including burial-related activities, which I discuss in chapter 6.[8]

A variety of corporate terms for a "gathering" or "grouping," some of which were shared within broader civic or imperial institutional contexts, were used to identify such informal groups. In the Greek-speaking areas that are the focus of this study, some common general group designations include κοινόν (pronounced *koinon* and translated "association" in this study), σύνοδος (*synodos*, "synod"), θίασος (*thiasos*, "society"), συνέδριον (*synedrion*, "sanhedrin"), ἔρανος (*eranos*, "festal-gathering"), συνεργασία (*synergasia*, "guild"), συμβιοταί (*symbiotai*, "companions"), ἑταῖροι (*hetairoi*, "associates"), μύσται (*mystai*, "initiates"), συναγωγή (*synagōgē*, "synagogue"), and σπεῖρα (*speira*, "company"). There were also group titles characteristic of certain cultural regions, such as δοῦμος (*doumos*), which was characteristic of Phrygia and Lydia (in central Asia Minor); κλῖνη (*klinē*), "dining-couch," which was used of both a "banquet" and of an "association" in Egypt; and συνθείς (*syntheis*), which was used for "those placed together" in Macedonia.[9] In Latin-speaking areas (especially in Italy and the West), one of the most well-attested terms for an association was *collegium*, which is why many scholars have adopted the practice of using the plural of that term, *collegia*, as a designation for associations generally.

Other associations developed a more specific title that incorporated the patron deity of the group, including names such as the Dionysiasts (in honour of the god Dionysos), the Isiasts (in honour of Isis), and the Aphrodisiasts (in honour of Aphrodite). Still, an array of other group designations, some of which we will soon encounter, shows that there was no standard approach to group titles, and the same thing can be said about variations in internal leadership titles.

My definition of associations here seeks to distinguish these rather informal (or "private") groups from official "institutions" of the cities and provinces, from official "boards" in charge of administering temples or other similar institutions, and from age-based "organizations" connected with the gymnasia (e.g., ephebes, elders), for instance. I should mention, however, that the evidence is sometimes ambiguous, and it is not always easy to clearly identify whether a particular group is a board of cultic functionaries within a god's temple rather than a less formal group of devotees of a god. A further complication is that associations frequently designated themselves using corporate terminology shared within broader

7. Cf. Stowers 1995.

8. On internal activities, see Harland 2003a, 55–88.

9. For the first term, see *TAM* V 179, 449, 470a, 536. For the second, see *POxy* 110, 1484, 1755, 3693, 4339; Youtie 1948; *NewDocs* I 1; Philo *Flacc.* 136–37. For the third, see *SEG* 27 (1977), no. 267; IG X.2 288, 289, 291, all from Thessalonica.

civic and imperial contexts (e.g., *koinon*, *synedrion*, *speira*), which sometimes makes a group sound more official or public than it actual was.

Voluntary Associations in the Social Sciences

There are certain affinities between my definition here and the quite broad concept of "voluntary associations" as it is used in sociology and anthropology, and yet some distinctions are important to note.[10] In the social sciences, the concept of voluntary associations often encompasses a large spectrum of groups, referring to "secondary organisations that exist between the primary links of kinship and the equally non-voluntary arrangements of tertiary institutions like the state."[11] As Jose C. Moya goes on to note, defined in this broad way, the term has been used in reference to a spectrum of groups that have proliferated in the modern period, from local choirs or bowling leagues to neighbourhood associations, immigrant groups, and more international organizations, such as Amnesty International.

According to Maria Krysan and William d'Antonio, modern voluntary associations are "independent of control from sources outside themselves, people were free to join or leave, and members established their own objectives and goals and the means to achieve them."[12] This intersects with ancient groups under evaluation here in the sense that they were generally not controlled by outside organizations and they did indeed establish and pursue their own goals. Yet quite often these goals (e.g., honouring earthly and divine benefactors) were relatively limited in comparison with those of some modern voluntary associations, such as politically focussed groups such as Amnesty International. When the same sociologists go on to explain the commonly perceived functions of modern voluntary associations, they are describing something quite different from the groups we are looking at in antiquity: associations "serve an important governing role at the local level and perform tasks as varied as community decision-making, emergency relief, fund-raising, public information campaigns, and professional licensing."[13]

Furthermore, it is important to heavily qualify the "voluntary" nature of the groups under examination in this study. Although there is some truth in the statement that, for many associations in antiquity, people might join or leave of their own volition, there were certain factors at work in limiting the voluntary nature of membership in associations of particular types, as I soon discuss in connection with social networks and the composition of associations. So our definition of associations here in this volume is more limited and specific, though at times it overlaps with or is encompassed within such social-scientific definitions dealing with associations in modern societies.

One further observation about modern studies of voluntary associations is in order before surveying social sources of ancient associations. Much of the literature on voluntary associations in modern, developed and developing countries (e.g., North America, Africa,

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10. Social-scientific studies of voluntary associations include Mishnun 1950; Little 1957; Geertz 1962; Anderson 1971; Kerri 1976; Thomson and Armer 1981; Krysan and d'Antonio 1992; Moya 2005.

11. Moya 2005, 834.

12. Krysan and d'Antonio 1992, 2231.

13. Krysan and d'Antonio 1992, 2231.

Indonesia) is devoted to the question of the primary functions of such groups in relation to surrounding society. In particular, as Randall J. Thomson and Michael Armer (1981) clarify, scholarly debates have centred on whether voluntary associations primarily serve integration or mobilization functions in relation to society.

On the one hand are studies that emphasize the role of voluntary associations in the integration or adjustment of individuals and communities within broader society, serving as "adaptive mechanisms."[14] In part, this integrative focus was a result of another assumption within the social sciences in earlier generations: namely, the notion that urban settings are alienating environments characterized by relative deprivation and social dislocation, especially for immigrants.[15] As I discuss in chapter 5, such assumptions still impact studies of social life in the ancient world, including the study of immigrants. Thomson and Armer critique this view, which involves problematic assumptions and oversimplifications regarding city life that are not consistent with a range of findings in other more recent social-scientific studies. This view also tends to assume that the formation of associations was primarily a means to compensate for a lack of meaningful ties, or for feelings of rootlessness in the urban milieu.[16] On the other hand are social-scientific studies that show that "instead of integration, voluntary associations reinforce the cultural distinctiveness of various ethnic and minority groups" and serve to mobilize individuals to effect change in the host society.[17]

Despite clear differences between the ancient and modern contexts, Thomson and Armer's argument here is particularly noteworthy in connection with my own findings in subsequent chapters regarding associations in the ancient context, particularly ethnic groups or cultural minority groups. Thomson and Armer point to the "multifunctional and dynamic capabilities of voluntary associations" and the various types of groups and types of societal contexts. They argue that "voluntary associations can serve both adjustment and mobilization functions; which is most important depends in part on the interaction between the type of organization and the dominant urban culture."[18] I continue to address the role of associations in cultural adaptation and identity maintenance in subsequent chapters.

Social Networks and the Membership of Associations

Now that we have some sense of what is meant by the term association, I turn to our ancient sources for these groups and to the question of what types of associations existed, which will also flesh out my earlier definition. Sometimes there are literary sources that shed light on such groups. Still, evidence for most groups is primarily archeological, including

14. E.g., Mishnun 1950; Little 1957; Geertz 1962; Anderson 1971; Kerri 1976.

15. See, for instance, Wirth 1938, for the traditional view of urban life. On problems with theories of relative deprivation, see Gurney and Tierney 1982; Wallis 1975; Beckford 1975, 1530–59; Berquist 1995.

16. See Thomson and Armer 1981.

17. Thomson and Armer 1981, 288.

18. Thomson and Armer 1981, 288.

Figure 1. Banqueting hall of the cowherds at Pergamon (second cent. CE)

epigraphy (inscriptions). To some extent, this is why associations have only recently begun to draw the attention of disciplines such as New Testament studies and classical studies that, traditionally at least, privilege literary evidence.

Some of the meeting places of associations have been discovered and excavated, offering a window into aspects of the internal life of such groups, including their ritual lives. Thus, for instance, the meeting places of associations devoted to the god Dionysos have been excavated at Athens and at Pergamon, and numerous buildings have been found on the Greek island of Delos and at Ostia near Rome.[19] Figure 1 shows a photo of a second-century banqueting hall of a group that honoured the god Dionysos at Pergamon, calling themselves the "cowherds" (βουκόλοι) in reference to some of the mythology of this god.[20]

By far the most extensive source of materials on association life comes from monuments and inscriptions.[21] These inscriptions include honorary plaques or monuments for benefactors, dedications to gods, internal regulations or statutes, membership lists, and grave stones that were commissioned by associations or their members. Pictured in figure 2 is a photograph of a monument dedicated to "Zeus Most High (Hypsistos) and the village." Below the inscription, it depicts the gods (Zeus, Artemis, and Apollo) along with the asso-

19. See Hermansen 1981; Schwarzer 2002; Trümper 2002 and 2004; Harland 2003a, 63–69, 78–83; Ascough 2007, 82–90.

20. On these cowherds, see the following inscriptions: *SEG* 29 (1979), no. 1264 (found in the meeting place); *IPergamon* 485–88; Conze and Schuchhardt 1899, 179, no. 31. On the building, see Radt 1989 and Radt 1988, 222–28.

21. On the value of inscriptions for history, see Millar 1983; Oliver 2000; Bodel 2001.

*Figure 2. Monument depicting three gods (Zeus, Artemis, and Apollo), an association, and entertainment, from Panormos near Kyzikos, now in the British Museum (*GIBM *IV. 1007)*

ciation gathered for a meal as several other figures provide entertainment (*GIBM* IV. 1007). Although limited in what they tell us, such material remains nonetheless provide important information regarding social and cultural life among many segments of the population, rather than only the literary elites.

The inscriptional evidence attests to an array of associations, and it is important to explain the groups that are found, building on my previous work in this area. Previous typologies of associations, such as the influential, multivolume work of Jean-Pierre Waltzing (1895–1900), tended to approach categorization with issues of primary purpose in mind, resulting in a threefold typology of (1) occupational, (2) cultic, and (3) burial associations. Besides the now generally recognized embeddedness of religion within social life in antiquity, such that all associations were cultic associations, this typology is also problematic in that it implies that occupational associations were not interested in honouring the gods or in the burial of members, for example. Instead, groups of various kinds served a variety of purposes for their members, not just one. So, building on a suggestion by John S. Kloppenborg (1996a), I have proposed a typology of associations that entails attention to the composition of membership and the role of social network connections in the formation and growth of groups.[22]

22. See Harland 2003a, 25–54.

Social scientists have long recognised the significance of social networks—intricate webs of connection that exist within a social structure—for understanding and explaining the workings of society, including the formation of social movements and groups. The term "social network" refers to the webs of ties and interactions among actors (individuals, groups, communities) within a social structure.

Since the mid–1950s social scientists have come to use the concept of social networks as an analytical tool for studying specific phenomena within society in relational terms.[23] Several sociologists have employed this tool in the study of modern social and religious groups, and have stressed the importance of preexisting social ties within networks for the dissemination or expansion of groups of various kinds (e.g., new religious movements, sects, and churches). For instance, in studies of the Korean-based Unification Church of the Reverend Sun Myung Moon and of recruitment to Pentecostal churches it was found that, more often than not, prior social contacts or interpersonal connections between members of a religious group and a nonmember preceded entrance of new members into a group.[24] Subsequent sociological studies, including those by Rodney Stark and William S. Bainbridge, confirm the vital importance of linkages through social networks not only as a precondition of joining, but also as a continuing factor in explaining the social workings of a given group.[25] In light of the importance of social networks for group membership, it is worth considering what webs of social linkages were at work in the ancient context.[26]

Several social networks, at times overlapping, framed social relations in the Greco-Roman world and played a role in the formation and growth in membership of particular associations.[27] Although such networks were overlapping, there are cases when certain groups drew membership primarily from one or another of these five important areas. There were associations that drew membership primarily from social connections associated with (1) the household; (2) the neighbourhood; (3) the workplace; (4) the sanctuary or temple; and (5) common geographical origins or a shared sense of ethnic identity. Groups could, of course, draw membership from several of these overlapping networks, but often a certain set of connections seems more prevalent.

First, the ties of the family and household could play a fundamental role in affiliations and in the membership of associations. Family networks encompassed a far greater set of relations in the ancient context than in modern Western societies. Household relationships seem to account entirely for the membership and existence of groups like the "initiates" of Dionysos headed by Pompeia Agrippinilla in Torre Nova, Italy (*IGUR* 160; ca. 160 CE).[28] The whole range of social strata found in the ancient household or *familia* belonged to this group, including free, freed, and servile dependents alongside members of the imperial

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23. See, for instance, Mitchell 1969, 1974; Boissevain 1974; Wellman 1983; Wasserman and Faust 1994.

24. Lofland and Stark 1965; Gerlach and Hine 1970.

25. Cf. Stark and Bainbridge 1985, 307–324; Welch 1981; Cavendish, Welch and Leege 1998.

26. For other studies that analyze social networks in the ancient context, see White, ed., 1992, Chow 1992, and Remus 1996.

27. The following discussion builds on Harland 2003a, 25–53. For a recent discussion of growth in association memberships, see Ascough 2007.

28. Cf. *LSAM* 20, with discussion in Barton and Horsley 1981 (household-based group in Philadelphia in Asia).

elites such as Agrippinilla herself, who was married to the influential M. Gavius Squilla Gallicanus (a senator and consul who became proconsul of Roman Asia in 165 CE).[29]

A second important web of connections was found in the neighbourhood where one lived and worked. There are several examples of ongoing associations in Asia Minor and elsewhere who drew primarily on these local links and whose identity was expressed in terms of the neighbourhood or district in question.[30] Persons living or working in a particular area were more likely to reflect similar social brackets of society, yet such neighborhood associations could include a mixture in terms of occupation (e.g., *IPergamon* 393) or gender.

Third, social networks related to occupation could in many ways be a determining factor in group affiliations. Daily social contacts in the workshops and marketplaces could often develop into an occupational association or guild of a more permanent type. We know of a wide range of such associations that identified themselves primarily in terms of their shared occupation, including groups of producers and dealers of foods (e.g., bakers, fishers), clothing manufacturers (e.g., leather cutters, linen workers, purple-dyers), builders (e.g., carpenters, masons), other artisans (e.g., potters, copper-, silver-, or goldsmiths), merchants, shippers, bankers, physicians, philosophers, athletes, theatrical performers, and soldiers (e.g., associations devoted to Mithras). I would suggest that membership in such occupationally based associations was less than voluntary in the sense that there would be considerable social pressure to join with fellow-workers. Failure to join might result in some degree of alienation, with economic repercussions. At the same time, Russell Meiggs does note evidence for multiple memberships in guilds at Ostia, which also shows that engagement in a particular occupation was not necessarily a requirement for membership in a guild based on that occupation.[31]

Although there are clear exceptions, membership in occupational associations was predominantly male and in many cases the social makeup of a guild was rather homogeneous in social-economic terms. Nevertheless, there are guilds that reflect a wider spectrum of social-economic levels, such as the fishers and fishmongers at Ephesos (*IEph* 20 = *NewDocs* V; 50s CE). This group, together with their families, contributed towards the building and dedication of the fishery toll-office, and they set up a monument that is pictured in figure 3. The one hundred (or so) contributors included Roman citizens (about forty-three to forty-four members) and a mixture of persons of free or freed (about thirty-six to forty-one) and servile status (about two to ten). The donors are listed in order of the size of donation ranging from the Roman citizen who could afford to provide four marble columns to those who could afford to give five denaria or less.

Fourth, social contacts arising from regular attendance at a particular temple or sanctuary could become the basis for an ongoing association. Harold Remus's (1996) study of social networks at Asklepios's healing sanctuary at Pergamon, as reflected in the works of Aelius Aristides, demonstrates well the complicated webs of connection that formed in such a setting. These connections could also be translated into associations such as the

29. See Vogliano 1933; Scheid 1986.

30. See, for instance, *IEph* 454, 3080; *IGR* IV 788–91 (Apameia, Phrygia); *IPergamon* 393, 424, 434; *ISmyrna* 714.

31. Meiggs 1960, 321–22.

*Figure 3. Monument set up by fishermen and fishmongers at Ephesos, now in the Selçuk Archaeological Museum (*IEph *20; 50s* CE*)*

"therapeutists" (θεραπευταί) attested at this sanctuary at Pergamon. Some, though not all, groups of initiates in the mysteries, including some discussed in the next chapter, may have formed from sanctuary-related networks.

A fifth important set of social links were those established among immigrants or in connection with common geographical origins, ethnicity, or cultural minority positions. This type of ancient association may also be understood in relation to social-scientific concepts of ethnic groups and cultural minorities, which I defined in the introduction.[32] There were various associations of immigrants from Rome and Alexandrians who had resettled in cities in other provinces, for instance (e.g., *IPerinthos* 27–28; *IGR* I 446). In chapter 5, I devote significant attention to Syrians or Phoenicians who migrated elsewhere and formed associations. Gatherings of Judeans, which occupy us considerably in this study, need to be placed alongside these other ethnically based associations. While this type of association may be formed in connection with shared ethnic identity or minority cultural practices,

32. For social network studies of ethnic groups in the modern context, see Sanders 2002, 329–31.

these associations could also come to include participants or members from other ethnic groups.

Some Judean associations happen to illustrate the interplay of the five overlapping webs of networks that I have outlined above. Secondary to links associated with ethnic identification, several other subsets of social connections could be operative in the formation and membership of particular immigrant or minority groups. At Rome, three Judean associations derive their names from the neighbourhood where they lived (Calcaresians, Campesians, and Siburesians) and two appear to be founded by Judeans who shared in common previous settlement in Greek cities elsewhere ("Tripolitans" and the "synagogue of Elaia").[33] Both neighbourhood and occupational networks played a role in the organization of the Judean population at Alexandria as well, and Shaye J. D. Cohen discusses several other locales where we know of neighbourhoods being specifically identified as Judean.[34]

The interplay of various social networks also means that it was possible for those who did not initially share the minority cultural position or ethnic identity of a particular group to become involved in some way within such minority groups, potentially becoming ongoing participants or members. Non-Judeans (gentiles) joining Judean associations is a case in point. Yet further on I discuss similar interactions between Syrian groups and outsiders who could attend meetings and join in honouring the deities of the ethnic group. This also has implications for Christian associations as cultural minority groups of a Judean variety, associations that nonetheless came to incorporate members with varying ethnic identities. So multiple networks, corresponding to a plurality of identities, could be at work in the formation of certain associations.

These same social networks seem to have played a role in the formation and growth of Christian associations. A pattern of recruitment and communal gathering in Paul's letters and in Acts suggests the importance of family-based networks: again and again an entire family of dependents was baptized along with the head of the household and the home was used as a meeting place.[35] Though Acts may exaggerate the point, social connections related to ethnicity served as an avenue for the spread of Christianity, as Judean networks in the diaspora coincided with the movement of figures such as Paul. Occupational networks, too, were important for early Christianity.[36] Richard S. Ascough (2000) shows that the Christian group at Thessalonica in the mid-first century may be considered a professional guild of hand-workers, for instance (cf. 1 Thess 2:9; 4:9–12). Although we should not take at face value Celsus's characterization of the Christian movement as a whole as predominantly lower class, there is truth in his observation, about a century after Paul, that attachments through workshops of "wool-workers," "shoemakers," and "clothing-cleaners" continued as a source of newcomers to some Christian groups (Origen *C. Cels.* 3.55).

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33. For the former, see *IEurJud* 69, 98, 165, 558, 584 (Calcaresians = "Lime-burners" district); 288, 560, 577 (Campesians); 338, 428, 451, 452, 527, 557 (Siburesians). For the latter, *IEurJud* 406, 576 (Elaia); 166 (Tripolitans). Also see Leon 1995 [1960], 135–66; Richardson 1998.

34. Cf. Philo *Flacc.* 55; *CPJ* III 454, 468; Kasher 1985, 352–53; Cohen 1999, 56–58.

35. Acts 11:14; 16:15; 18:8; cf. 1 Cor 16:19; Phlm 2; Rom 6:10–16; Col 4:15.

36. Cf. Hock 1980; Humphries 1998, on the importance of trade networks in the dissemination of Christian and other groups in Italy.

Group Designations and Identity: Judean and Christian Groups as Associations

What we as social historians look for and notice in studying such groups is not necessarily what an ancient Greek, Roman, Egyptian, Syrian, or Judean would notice. For instance, even the typology of associations based on social network connections outlined above in some respects represents the outsider (etic) perspective of a scholar, not necessarily the insider (emic) perspective of the subjects we are studying. And when we call an early Christian congregation a "cultural minority group" or a Judean gathering an "ethnic group," we are once again using etic categories, not concepts that were used by our historical subjects. Such scholarly constructs assist us in understanding and explaining social phenomena in our terms.

Nonetheless, there is considerable evidence that people in the ancient world—both outsiders and members of the groups in question—did indeed notice the analogous nature of associations of various kinds, even if they would not develop a typology based on social networks such as the one outlined above. This adds a further dimension to our own categories and comparisons. Such evidence of comparisons in the ancient world is particularly valuable for approaching issues of group identity since it involves cases where the two main sources of identity construction and negotiation are at work, where ancient external categorizations and internal definitions of the group intersect or overlap considerably. Ancient observers, on the one hand, and both Judeans and followers of Jesus, on the other, sometimes used common social and cultural categories drawn from association life to describe group identities. This was done alongside other more specific or distinctive terms of identification that are not our focus in this chapter, and which varied from one association to the next.

Let me illustrate these common categories and group designations here before going on to detail one specific case of internal self-definition from the letters of Ignatius of Antioch in the following chapter. Here the focus is on outlining common group designations. I am by no means making any Herculean attempt to discuss the myriad self-identifications or external categorizations (some of them strongly negative, as we will see in chapter 8) that were used in reference to Judeans or Christians. I begin with designations of Judean groups generally. Then I move on to groups of Jesus-followers, groups that shared in common some degree of connection with certain Judean cultural ways and the Judean God. In each case I begin with external categorizations by contemporaries before considering internal self-designations that overlap with common association terminology.

On the Judean side, both Philo of Alexandria (early first century) and Josephus of Jerusalem (late first century, born in 37 CE) supply us with information regarding both external and internal definitions and corporate designations for groups of Judeans in the diaspora. As Judean authors writing to Greek-speaking audiences in the Roman period, Josephus's and Philo's own characterizations of Judean groups are already informed by Greek or Roman categorizations, I would suggest.[37] So, in certain ways, they may reflect

37. Note, for instance, Josephus's characterization of educated Judean groups in the homeland as "philosophies," using Greek philosophical debates about the soul and about Fate as his focal points (*Ant.* 18.12ff.; *War* 2.119).

what some social scientists call the internalization of external categorizations. Internalization, as I mentioned in the introduction and discuss further in chapter 8, involves members of a particular group adopting, adapting, or reacting to outsiders' labels or definitions of them.

Josephus presents numerous official statements by civic and imperial institutions that reflect the perspectives of outsiders to some degree, including Roman imperial authorities (*Ant.* 14.185–267 and 16.160–78). Although these official documents may already be affected by, or revised in accordance with, Josephus's own apologetic (defensive) purposes, they nonetheless provide some insights into common external categorizations by Greek civic authorities or Roman imperial institutions.

Josephus shows that a Judean group might be considered a "society" (*thiasos*). This term has a long history dating back to subgroups within the phratries in the Athenian sphere as early as the fifth century BCE; by the first century CE, it was among the more common self-designations adopted by associations and it was used almost exclusively for associations.[38] It was often used as a general catch-all category for associations generally, as a comment by Philo (cited below) also shows.[39] Josephus preserves a letter ostensibly from Julius Caesar to the civic institutions of the Greek city (*polis*) of Parion in Asia Minor, located just west of Kyzikos on the map (*Ant.* 14.213–16). In it, Julius Caesar refers to Judean emissaries from the Greek island of Delos who claimed that others in the cities had been preventing them from practicing their "ancestral customs and sacred practices." The letter then mentions and applies to the Parion situation previous actions by Caesar which specified that, although societies were forbidden "to assemble in the city" of Rome, societies formed by Judeans specifically were provided an exception in response to specific diplomatic contacts with imperial authorities.

It is important to at least note here that associations of various kinds, including the Dionysiac initiates at Smyrna whom I discuss in chapter 7, engaged in such diplomacy with civic or imperial authorities, which resulted in similar recognitions or privileges.[40] So we should not always assume that the Judeans were a special case among associations in regard to such diplomatic relations, despite the participants' claims that they were special. As Tessa Rajak has clearly established, there was no "Roman charter for the Jews," and the problematic scholarly idea that Judeans were a specially recognized "legal religion" (*religio licita*) with such a charter is unfounded in ancient evidence.[41]

Another document presented by Josephus has a Roman official, Lucius Antonius (about 49 BCE), responding positively to the request of Judean ambassadors from Sardis in Asia Minor regarding their "synod" (*synodos*). The term "synod," which has the basic meaning of a "coming together," was used in a variety of contexts for an assembly of people and had a significant range of meanings, so the passage from Josephus involving the use of "society" (*thiasos*), discussed above, is stronger evidence of an association context than this

38. For discussion of the early use of the term, see Costello 1938, 178–79; Ferguson and Nock 1944, 133–34.

39. See *Flacc.* 136.

40. See Rajak 1984; Harland 2003a, 157, 220–24.

41. Rajak 1984; cf. Millar 1973, 145.

instance of "synod."[42] Nonetheless, synod is among the most used Greek self-designations for associations specifically in the Roman period, and it is likely that its use in the passage in Josephus reflects the milieu of associations.

These Judeans at Sardis had apparently argued that "from the earliest times they have had a synod of their own in accordance with their ancestral laws and a place of their own" (Josephus *Ant.* 14.235).[43] The Roman official responded by reaffirming this claim and, in this case, it seems that civic institutions of Sardis likewise acknowledged the claim (*Ant.* 14.259–61). Here it is difficult to sort out whether this language of "synod" was the term used by ambassadors of the Judean group themselves (internal definition) or by Roman officials (external definition), or by both. Whatever the case may be, it seems that the group is being described using common group-designations that were used by associations in the same context.

It is worth noting some evidence that may provide insight into similar uses of this designation, "synod," in self-definitions among Judean groups. One inscription from Nysa, located east of Ephesos, apparently confirms the internal use of this corporate term by Judeans themselves (cf. *CPJ* I 138). In it, a man named Menandros had established a place "for the people and the synod (τῶι λαῶι καὶ τῇ συνόδωι) which are gathered around Dositheos son of Theogenes."[44] Here the somewhat culturally distinctive Judean usage of "people" (λάος), as also attested at Smyrna and Hierapolis—likely reflecting notions of the "people of God" as in the Septuagint—is coupled with the standard use of "synod" for the group.[45] If Margaret H. Williams's recent interpretation of a fragmentary papyrus from late Ptolemaic Egypt (first cent. BCE) is correct, then we have another case involving a guild of Judean "embalmers" (ἐνταφιασταί / συνταφιασταί) that designated itself a "synod" and met in a "prayer house" (προσευχῆι) for its meetings (the term συναγωγῆ is used for its "meeting").[46] Other Judean groups who did not necessarily adopt "synod" as a main group designation nonetheless could use the term in reference to a regular meeting of the group, as with the corporate body of Judeans in Berenice in Cyrenaica, to which I return below.[47]

Further evidence of both external and internal definitions comes from Philo. In these cases, too, "synod" is a common designation which is linked closely with the more distinctive "society" (*thiasos*) and with imperial actions in relation to such associations. Philo was himself among the five Judean ambassadors to Emperor Gaius (in 38 or 39 CE) in connection with ethnic conflicts in Alexandria.[48] Philo records the essence of his speech in

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42. Josephus himself uses the term "synod" twenty-five times but it does not have any stable, technical sense in his writings (I am grateful to Steve Mason for his suggestions in this area).

43. Trans. Marcus 1933–63 (LCL).

44. *IJO* II 26 = *DFSJ* 31 = Robert 1960c, 261 (first cent. BCE, according to Ameling 2004, in IJO).

45. *IJO* II 44 (Smyrna), 206 (Hierapolis). Also see the discussion in Noy, Panayatov, and Bloedhorn 2004, 109–10, regarding the phrase "farewell to the people" at Larissa in Thessaly (*IJO* I Ach 1–4, 8–14, 25; probably third or fourth cent. CE). On the connection with the "people of God," see Robert 1960c, 260–61.

46. Williams 1994b, 174. For the repeated reference to "the synod," see lines 4, 8, and 16. For the fragmentary mentions of the embalming occupation, see lines 10 and 13. On various names for burial related occupations in Egypt, see Youtie 1940, 650–57.

47. Reynolds 1977, 244–47, no. 17 (line 24) and no. 18 (line 16). Cf. Rajak 2002 [1996], 382.

48. On these conflicts see Barclay 1996, 48–59; Schäfer 1997, 163–69.

a writing titled the *Embassy to Gaius*. There he appeals to the positive actions of Gaius's great-grandfather, Augustus himself, as a precedent for Gaius to follow in siding with the Judeans of Alexandria over against the Greeks. In support of his position, Philo cites two documents reflecting positive diplomatic relations between Romans and Judeans which once again reveal external categorizations.

The second document involves a letter by Gaius Norbanus Flaccus, the proconsul of Asia, to the civic magistrates of Ephesos (dating ca. either 24 BCE or 12 BCE).[49] Philo suggests that this reflects the perspective of Augustus as well (cf. Josephus *Ant*. 16.166, 171). In this case, Philo first quotes portions of the letter before paraphrasing its essence in this way: Augustus "did not think that the form generally adopted about synods should be applied to do away with the gatherings of the Judeans to which they resort for collection of the first-fruits and their other pious activities" (*Leg. Gai.* 316).[50] As Torrey Seland (1996) points out, elsewhere Philo employs the term "synod" as one among several synonyms for a general concept of associations, a general concept which he identifies using the term "societies": "In the city there are societies (θίασοι) with a large membership . . . "Synods" and "dining couches" (σύνοδοι καὶ κλῖναι) are the particular names given to them by the people of the country" (*Flacc.* 136).

The first document cited by Philo is Augustus's letter to the governors of the provinces of Asia (likely the provinces of Asia Minor are in mind). Here Philo paraphrases the letter and suggests that Augustus proclaimed that "Judeans alone be permitted by them [the governors] to assemble in synagogues (τὰ συναγώγια συνέρχεσθαι). These synods, he said, were not based on drunkenness and carousing to promote conspiracy . . . but were schools of temperance and justice" (*Leg. Gai.* 311–13).

Here the point is that Judean gatherings are called not only "synagogues" but, once again, "synods," and Philo himself compares the groups to the advantage of Judean associations. This suggests the importance of "synods" and the associations generally for internal Judean self-definition, despite the occasions on which authors like Philo engaged in moral critique of the associations of others, to which I return in chapter 8. Diaspora Judeans like Philo sometimes considered associations as the framework within which to define themselves, it seems, at least in addressing Greek or Roman audiences. Not surprisingly, in light of the rivalries that existed among associations, there were claims of superior status for the Judean associations nonetheless, both in Josephus and in Philo.

This picture of Judean gatherings viewed as associations is confirmed by internal designations in the inscriptions, which may also reflect nonelite Judean perspectives on group identity. I have already noted Judean use of the self-designation "synod" in inscriptions. Other instances suggest further that Judean groups could view and present themselves as associations. The evidence that has survived does not suggest consistent, empire-wide practices regarding self-designations among Judeans abroad in the first centuries of the common era, and various terms were employed. "Synagogue," one of the many Greek terms for a "gathering together," was among the more commonly used terms for a Judean gathering, especially in the city of Rome, for instance.[51] As early as the first century CE,

49. See Millar 1966, 161 (who prefers 12 BCE) and Rajak 1984, 113–14.

50. Trans. Colson 1929–62 (LCL).

51. E.g., *IRomJud* 96, 165, 189, 194, 288, 406, 542, 549, 560, 562, 576, 584.

the term "synagogue" could also be used as a designation for the *building* in which such a Judean gathering took place.[52] Ultimately "synagogue" came to be the Judean standard in subsequent centuries, and we now regularly use it when speaking of ancient diaspora Judeans or of both ancient and modern Jewish meeting places (buildings) today. Yet it was not the only term used and it was not specific to Judean cultural contexts in the Hellenistic and Roman periods.[53]

The term "synagogue" and its cognates were used by other associations in various locales, pointing to shared means of group identification. Thus, for instance, a group of male and female "society members" devoted to the god Zeus in Apamea (east of Kyzikos) in Bithynia set up an honorary monument for a priestess of Mother Cybele and Apollo in the "synagogue of Zeus" (*IApamBith* 35; likely 85 CE). Across the Marmara Sea (Propontis) from Apamea, at Perinthos (Herakleia) in Thracia, there were at least two occupational groups in the first or second centuries that adopted this designation: one a "synagogue of barbers" that included a "synagogue leader" (ἀρχισυνάγωγος) at its head and the other a "synagogue of oar-dealers."[54] Numerous associations called synods or societies at Tanais, Panticipaion, and elsewhere in the Bosporan region (north of the Black Sea), had a similar functionary (called simply a συναγωγός), who was likely in charge of arranging the sacrificial feasts. This functionary is attested as early as the second century BCE, and there is no evidence to support a Judean connection with these groups, as I discuss more fully in chapter 3.[55]

There is considerable evidence for non-Judean synagogues or synagogue leaders from the province of Macedonia as well. Synagogue leaders are found within a *collegium* at Acanthus, within an association (συνθείς) devoted to Poseidon at Beroia, within a group of worshippers (θρησκευταί) devoted to Zeus Most High at Pydna, and within an association (συνθείς) at Thessalonica devoted to the god Herakles.[56] From Egypt there is evidence of a "synagogue of fellow-farmers" in the Ptolemaic era, as well as a military group of horsemen headed by a synagogue leader.[57] So, clearly, designating one's group a "synagogue" was a relatively common practice in some areas, a practice that also happened to be adopted by some Judean gatherings, ultimately becoming the prominent term.

Many other group titles were used by Judeans themselves and some likewise overlap with those adopted by other associations. When we compare Judean self-designations to

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52. See John S. Kloppenborg's (2000) discussion of the Theodotus inscription (*CIJ* 1404) from Jerusalem, which most likely dates before 70 CE (*contra* Howard Clark Kee 1995).

53. The most common term for meeting places of Judeans in Hellenistic Egypt, on the other hand, was "prayer house" (προσευχή) (e.g., *IEgJud* 9, 13, 22, 24, 25, 27, 28, 117, 125, 126). It seems that this usage was particular to Judeans (see the notes by Horbury and Noy in *IEgJud* 9 and 126).

54. *IGR* I 782; *IPerinthos* 59, on which see Robert 1937, 261 (first or second cent. CE). Cf. *IGLSkythia* I 58.

55. See Ustinova (1999, 190–91, 196, 203–39), who convincingly challenges Levinskaya's (1996) conjecture of Judean influence. Cf. Ascough 2003, 71–81.

56. *CIG* 2007f (second century); *SEG* 27 (1977), no. 267; *NewDocs* I 5 (250 CE); *IG* X.2 288–89 (154 CE). Cf. *SEG* 42 (1992), no. 625 (90/91 CE) also from Thessalonica. For associations in Macedonia, see Ascough 2003.

57. *SB* 7457; *IFayum* I 9 (80–67 BCE). Cf. *IAlexandriaK* 91–92 (ca. 4–5 CE); *SB* 4981, 7307; Brashear 1993, 12–18.

those of other ethnic groups specifically, there are at least two crossovers beyond those noted for associations generally. We lack evidence for a standard terminology adopted by associations based on common geographic origin, but the term for "settlement" or "those settled" (οἱ κατοικοῦντες) is among the better attested ones. This was a favourite identification used by associations of settlers from the city of Rome, especially those settled in Asia Minor, and it is attested in connection with Tyrians who migrated to Puteoli in Italy.[58] So it is not surprising to find at least one second-century Judean group, which I discuss in chapter 6, adopting local cultural practice by identifying itself as the "settlement of the Judeans who are settled in Hierapolis" (*IJO* II 205).

Another term used by associations of immigrants, as well as Judean groups, was borrowed from civic and military contexts. *Politeuma* (πολίτευμα) or "corporate body" was sometimes used as a term for a civic body of those in charge, either the ruling class or the citizenry, at least at Cyrene in Cyrenaica and on the Aegean island of Chios.[59] It was also used for settlements of immigrants or, especially in the Hellenistic period, for military colonies based on ethnic identity. The papyri recently published by James M. Cowey and Klaus Maresch (2001) provide a Judean example of the sort of ethnic-based military settlements established under Ptolemaic rule in Egypt, in this case at Herakleopolis (ca. 144–132 BCE).[60] There were also groups of soldiers from Kaunos, Termessos, and Pinaria at Sidon who designated themselves a "corporate body," for instance.[61] Furthermore, as Constantine Zuckerman (1985/88) and Gert Lüderitz (1994) show, the term was used of regular associations including "corporate bodies" of Phrygians at Alexandria and of devotees of the goddess Sachypsis in the Fayum in Egypt.[62] I would suggest that this is the associational framework in which to understand the group of Judeans at Berenice in Cyrenaica in the first century CE who employed somewhat interchangeably the designations "the corporate body of Judeans in Berenice" and "the synagogue of Judeans in Berenice."[63] This is not the place to rehearse studies by Zuckerman (1985/88) and Lüderitz (1994) except to say that they have clearly disassembled an unfounded scholarly theory espoused by Mary Smallwood and others. This problematic view (as espoused by Smallwood) asserts that "*politeuma* was a recognized, formally constituted corporation of aliens enjoying the right of domicile in a foreign city and forming a separate, semiautonomous civic body, a city within

58. *IGR* IV 785–86, 788–91, 793–94; *MAMA* VI 177 (ca. 65–69 CE), 183; *OGIS* 595 = *CIG* 5853 (Tyrian merchants at Puteoli). Cf. *CIG* 2287.

59. See Lüderitz 1994, 185–88; cf. Ascough 2003, 77–78, regarding Paul's use of the term in Philippians 3:20.

60. I am indebted to Giovanni Bazzana, who pointed me to the recently published Herakleopolis materials.

61. For other "corporate bodies" of foreign soldiers in Egypt, see *SB* V 8757 (120 CE); *IFayum* II 121 (from Philadelphia; 93 CE); *PTebtunis* 32 (145 BCE); *IFayum* 15 (third to first cent. BCE); *SB* III 6664 (165–145 BCE; from Xois, near Alexandria). Cf. *OGIS* 145 (146–116 BCE), involving Ionians on Cyprus.

62. Macridy 1904 = Mendel 1912–14, vol. 1, nos. 102–8 (*politeumata* at Sidon); *IAlexandriaK* 74 (Phrygians).

63. Reynolds 1977, 242–47, nos. 16, 17, 18. For a translation and discussion of no. 17, see Harland 2003a, 224–25. I do not agree with Lüderitz's (1994, 210–22) conjecture, based on the voting procedures in the inscriptions, that the usage at Berenice is an anomaly in relation to the usual usage of "corporate body" for an association.

the city. . . . It had to be officially authorized by the local ruler or civic body, presumably by a written charter."[64] Instead, in many cases (particularly in the Roman imperial era) the term *politeuma* is a synonym for "synod" and related terms for an association, not a "public" institution as held in the scholarly tradition.[65]

So smaller gatherings of Judean groups in the diaspora could be viewed as synods, societies, and synagogues, and their members could communicate their own internal identifications drawing on the model of the association. It is not surprising, therefore, to find a similar situation in the case of Jesus-followers, who, at least in some cases, could be viewed by outsiders as obscure groups with Judean cultural connections (e.g., Tacitus *Ann.* 15.44). Several Greek and Roman literary sources show that the world of associations often came to mind when outsiders encountered the little-known groups of Jesus-followers. Robert Wilken (1972, 1984) and, more recently, Richard S. Ascough (1998) have surveyed at some length the models that were at work in how Greek and Roman outsiders viewed groups of Jesus-followers, including the synagogue, the philosophical school, the mysteries, and the association. Here we want to focus on cases when the association informed external or internal definitions of Christian identity.

One of the earliest Roman descriptions of Jesus-followers is Pliny the Younger's correspondence with the emperor Trajan. In about 110 CE, Pliny was appointed governor (legate) of the province of Bithynia and Pontus in northern Asia Minor. Pliny's appointment was special, as there were numerous perceived administrative and other problems in the cities of the province, and Pliny was sent to clean things up. As part of his ongoing activities, this Roman governor sometimes wrote letters both to report on his successes and to request advice from the emperor or from other elite friends.

One of these letters involves followers of Jesus and reveals how a member of the Roman elite might view such people. It is important to note that Pliny was familiar with the associational tendencies of populations in Asia Minor, as he refers to associations in two other letters involving groups at Nikomedia and at Amisos (Pliny *Ep.* 10.33–34, 93–94). Because of Pliny's special appointment to correct problems specific to this province at this time, most of these references involve Pliny's hesitancy about such groups, and it seems that he had passed at least one edict limiting associational activities in some way, perhaps forbidding night-time meetings.

When Pliny writes to the emperor concerning those labeled "Christians" (*Christiani*) that had been brought before him, perhaps at Amisos or Amastris, he speaks disparagingly about them.[66] He dismisses them as an upper-class Roman author would dismiss many other forms of cultural activity among the lower classes, namely, as a "superstition"—"a debased and excessive superstition (*superstitionem pravam et immodicam*)."[67] However, at

64. Smallwood 1976, 225, also cited by Lüderitz 1994, 201.

65. Cf. Rajak 2002 [1999], 469–70; Barclay 1996, 25 n. 18, 64–65.

66. On Pliny, the Christians, and trials see, for example, de Ste. Croix 1963 and 1964; Sherwin-White 1966, 691–712; Wilken 1984, 1–30. On the label "Christian" and its eventual adoption by the followers of Jesus, see Horrell 2007. However, I do not agree with elements of his interpretation of 1 Peter with regard to the nature of persecution, and I am not as convinced that the label emerged in "legal" contexts.

67. See Tacitus *Annals* 15.38–44, who also speaks of following Christ as a "superstition," and

the same time he describes their gatherings in terms familiar from the activities of associations among the population:

> they also declared that the sum total of their guilt or error amounted to no more than this: they had met regularly before dawn on a fixed day to chant verses alternately amongst themselves in honour of Christ as if to a god, and also to bind themselves by oath, not for any criminal purpose, but to abstain from theft, robbery, and adultery, to commit no breach of trust and not to deny a deposit when called upon to restore it. After this ceremony it had been their custom to disperse and reassemble later to take food of an ordinary, harmless kind. (*Ep.* 10.96.6–7)[68]

Also important is Pliny's reference to an edict that he had passed regarding restrictions on meetings of associations (*hetaeriae*, sometimes a synonym for *collegia*), where he specifically notes that the devotees of Christ had obeyed his edict.[69] Some of Christ-devotees still met together regularly, it seems, but now certain meetings (likely those held at night) were avoided. This suggests that both this Roman official and the Christians themselves understood these groups to fall under the rubric of associations (*Ep.* 10.96.7–8). So here there are indications not only of external categorizations but also of internal self-definitions (or internalization of external categories) among these followers of Jesus in northern Asia Minor.

Subsequent external categorizations of Christian groups that likewise see such groups as associations are found in the writings of Lucian of Samosata and of Celsus (both in the second century CE). In the midst of his ridiculing satire on the (once) Christian Peregrinus, Lucian refers to Peregrinus's time in Palestine among Christian "priests and scribes." Lucian ridicules the Christians' ready acceptance of this man and characterizes Peregrinus's authority among them by calling him: "prophet, leader of the society, and leader of the synagogue" (προφήτης καὶ θιασάρχης καὶ ξυναγωγεὺς [*sic*]) (*Peregrinus* 11). Although writing considerably later (in the early fourth century), the Christian historian Eusebius reveals that the term "society" could be used by insiders, as when he speaks of Christian congregations as "our society" (*HE* 10.1.8). Lucian's description of the Christians also draws on the analogy of associations devoted to the mysteries: he labels the movement an "initiation rite" (τελετή) in referring back to "the man who was crucified in Palestine because he introduced this new initiation rite into the world" (*Peregrinus* 11).[70] In the next chapter, we will see that analogies drawn from associations that engaged in "mysteries" were also important for internal Christian self-definition in some cases, at least for Ignatius and the congregations he addressed in Asia Minor.

In a manner similar to Lucian, the critic Celsus characterizes followers of Jesus as

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see the discussion of Caecilius (in Minucius Felix) in chapter 8 of this volume. Cf. Beard, North, and Price 1998, 215–27.

68. Trans. Radice 1969 (LCL). For comparable "moral" expectations of association members, compare the association devoted to Zeus and Agdistis in Philadelphia in Asia Minor (see Barton and Horsley 1981).

69. On the question of legal actions (or lack thereof) in relation to associations, see Arnaoutoglou 2002 and Harland 2003a, 161–73.

70. Trans. Harmon 1913–67 (LCL).

"members of a society" (θιασῶται; Celsus as cited in Origen *C. Cels.* 3.23). Sometimes Celsus's critique of the Christians reflects the same sort of general upper-class disdain for the activities of the lower strata that we saw in Pliny. This is the case when Celsus characterizes members of such groups as a bunch of "wool-workers, cobblers, laundry workers, and the most illiterate and bucolic yokels" (*C. Cels.* 3.55).[71] Yet he also specifically complains about something that has to do with (Judean) cultural practices of these groups, rather than their social level: the Christians' strange avoidance of "setting up altars, images and temples." Celsus interprets these strange avoidances as a "sure token of an obscure and secret fellowship" (ἀφανοῦς καὶ ἀπορρήτου κοινωνίας) (8.17; cf. 1.1). So, as with Judean groups, Greek and Roman spectators readily categorized Christian groups—however strange they may have otherwise seemed because of certain minority cultural practices—using concepts that reflect association life in that milieu.

Unlike the internal epigraphic evidence for Judean groups generally, archeological evidence for early Jesus-followers that is distinguishable from other materials only becomes recognizable in the late second century CE.[72] So our ability to compare the self-designations of associations with those of Christian groups is somewhat limited by a lack of corresponding types of material evidence. Among the archeological evidence that has been found, it is worth mentioning one building inscription from Barata, near Lystra in Lycaonia (north of Lamos, at the top of the label "Cilicia" on the map in this volume), with the Christian *chi-rho* symbol that does refer to "the *collegium*" (in transliterated Greek) with no further clarification (third century or earlier).[73]

For the first two centuries, we have to rely on specific Christian literary sources that reflect identification practices in only some groups of Jesus-followers (from the perspective of those who claimed authority over them). Among the self-designations in the literature, the most common term within Pauline circles was "assembly," or "congregation" (ἐκκλησία, often anachronistically translated "church"). This term is drawn from civic life in the Greek East, where a particular gathering or assembly of the civic institution of "the people" (δῆμος), namely, the citizen body, was frequently called an "assembly" (ἐκκλησία). Paul's (or other Jesus-followers') adaptation of this term from its origins in reference to an occasional assembly or meeting to an ongoing title for a group reflects a common process that can be seen with many other associations and their titles, including the groups that came to use a general designation for a specific "gathering together" (*synag-* root words) of people as an ongoing title for the group.

The use of "assembly" (ἐκκλησία) specifically is not widely attested as a title or self-designation among other associations in the inscriptions that have survived and been found. Two inscriptions from Aspendos in Pamphylia (just inland from the Gulf of Antalya about half way between Tlos and Lamos on the map) may involve an association that was called an "assembly" (*IGLAM* 1381–82).[74] Although the term does not seem to have become a widespread group self-designation, there is clear evidence that certain associa-

71. Trans. Chadwick 1953, 165 (Greek text from TLG).

72. See Snyder 2003 [1985].

73. Laminger-Pascher 1992, no. 69.

74. See Poland 1909, 332; *IGLAM* 1381–82, which were first noted by Heinrici 1876, 1877. I am indebted to Kloppenborg (1993, 215–16, 231), who also briefly discusses these inscriptions.

tions did use it in reference to a specific "assembly" or "meeting," as in the case of the synod of Tyrian merchants on Delos, which I discuss in chapter 5.[75] In subsequent chapters, I return to some other cases where Christian groups and other associations share common terminology in processes of internal self-definition, particularly sibling terminology and other fictive familial language used to express belonging among members.

It is not entirely clear what key self-designations or titles were used by the followers of Jesus reflected in the epistles of John, which likely involve groups in western Asia Minor.[76] Only the author of 3 John happens to employ Paul's favourite, "the assembly" (3 John 1:6, 9, 10), but there is some other suggestive language used within these letters that happens to intersect with internal association terminology in Asia Minor. In particular, "the elder" who authored this same letter to Gaius closes the letter with the following: "The friends (οἱ φίλοι) send you their greetings. Greet the friends there, each by name" (3 John 15). The collective reference to "*the* friends" using the article rather than a possessive (e.g., "my friends" or "your friends") here in both cases suggests the possibility that the members of each group, the group to which the elder belonged and the group to which Gaius belonged, might term themselves, corporately, "the friends" (οἱ φίλοι). "The friends" (οἱ φίλοι) was not merely a common means of expressing positive connections with others within associations in Asia Minor and elsewhere. It was sometimes used as the main title for the group itself.[77] We will return to some examples of association members addressing one another as "friends" in chapter 3.

Conclusion

In this chapter we have defined and outlined a variety of unofficial groups that can be discussed together as "associations." We have found that ancient observers would group together many of the gatherings considered under the rubric of associations by a modern scholar (cf. Philo *Flacc.* 136). I have suggested that we can make better sense of these groups not by categorizing them based on supposed primary purposes, which were varied, but by thinking in terms of overlapping social networks that formed the bases of these groups, sometimes with one set of connections predominating for a particular group.

In looking at both external categorizations and internal definitions, which are at the centre of social-scientific explanations of identity, we have found common ground among ancient observers and group members alike. Both could define Judean gatherings and Christian congregations in terms drawn from association life generally. This is despite the

75. *IDelos* 1519, lines 1–2 = *CIG* 2271 = Foucart 1873, 223–25, no. 43. Similarly, a gymnastic organization (the ἀλειφομένοι) on Samos refers to its meeting as an ἐκκλησία. See McCabe 1986, no. 119 (accessible via http://epigraphy.packhum.org/); Poland 1909, 332.

76. See Raymond E. Brown 1979 and 1982.

77. "The friends": *IGLAM* 798 (Kotiaion, Aezanatis valley); *IIasos* 116; *IMagnMai* 321; *IDidyma* 502 (a Dionysiac group); *IMylasa* 571–75; *TAM* V 93 (Saittai; 225 CE); *ISmyrna* 720; *MAMA* III 580, 780, 788 (Korykos); *SEG* 35 (1985), no. 1337 (Amastris, Pontus); *IPrusaOlymp* 24 (first cent. CE); *IAsMinLyk* I 69 (Xanthos, Lycia). Cf. *IG* II.2 1369 (Athens; second cent. CE); *IG* III 1081, 1089, 1102 (Athens; ca. 120s CE; ephebes); *IGUR* 1169 (Rome).

fact that, in other respects, these groups could be viewed as peculiar because of certain cultural practices arising from Judean ways, such as a devotion to the Judean God to the exclusion of the gods of other peoples. This also suggests that these Christian associations can be viewed by a scholar as cultural minority groups alongside Judean gatherings, as I explained in the introduction.

The shared language of identity and the comparison of associations with both Judean gatherings and Christian congregations are not surprising. After all, these groups were, like the local devotees of Zeus or Dionysos or the guild of purple-dyers, groups that assembled regularly to socialize, share communal meals, and honour both their earthly and their divine benefactors. From an outsider's perspective, this general similarity might help to make sense of what was in other respects quite strange: minority groups whose cultural ways of life included an insistence that only their god and no one else's was deserving of their recognition or honour. From the perspective of these cultural minorities, describing oneself in terms drawn from the world of associations might simultaneously establish a sense of place within local society while also forming a basis from which to assert distinctiveness or preeminence for the group or its God. This twofold process of cultural adaptation and identity maintenance occupies us in subsequent chapters.

2

Local Cultural Life and Christian Identity

"Fellow-Initiates" and "Christ-Bearers"

Introduction

An individual member's place within a group and that group's identity in relation to surrounding society is an ongoing, shifting process of negotiation as we are beginning to see. In the case of minority groups, such as associations of Jesus-followers, processes of negotiation entail both differentiating and assimilating forces. On the one hand, the self-understanding of a member or the group as a whole can be expressed in terms of distinction from common cultural categories in the majority culture. We are the precious few "holy ones," and outsiders are the vast sea of "the wicked" who engage in morally abhorrent or perverted activities, for instance (e.g., 1 Pet 4:3–4; Philo *Vit. Cont.* 40–41; *Leg. Gai.* 311–13).

On the other hand, that majority culture can supply a primary means by which identity is expressed. Specific concepts and categories from the majority culture or local manifestations of that culture can be central to the expression of identities in a minority group. Both of these forces are often at work at the same time. The processes of internal self-definition and external social categorization can, at times, overlap significantly, as I demonstrated in chapter 1.

There are clear instances when followers of Jesus in the Roman era express their identities in terms that draw on widely shared cultural categories, including categories drawn from association life. Simultaneously, these Christians could reinterpret such categories in a way that made claims regarding distinctive identity or the superiority of the group. The letters of Ignatius of Antioch, which reflect group life in two central hubs of early Christianity—western Asia Minor and Syrian Antioch—provide a case in point.

Ignatius draws quite heavily on categories from the culture of the Greco-Roman cities in order to build up the identity of the Christian groups, expressing their identities in terms drawn from local social and cultural life in Asia Minor. He uses several analogies and metaphors in his letters to speak of the identity of congregations in Roman Asia. Followers of Jesus at Ephesos, for instance, are likened to a choral group in a temple, "attuned to the bishop as strings to a lyre" (*Eph.* 4; cf. *Phld.* 1.2). They are "fellow-initiates" (συμμύσται) of

Paul that share in the "mysteries" (*Eph.* 12.2; 19.1; cf. *Magn.* 9.1; *Trall.* 2.3). Together they take part in a procession in honour of their patron deity, bearing images and sacred objects as groups (σύνοδοι) of "God-bearers" (θεοφόροι) and "Christ-bearers" (χριστοφόροι; *Eph.* 9.2; cf. *Smyrn.* inscript.). The Ephesians were by no means the only ones to hear these characterizations, however, as the letters of Ignatius soon circulated more widely to other groups in Asia and elsewhere (cf. Polycarp, *Phil.* 13.2).

Over a century ago, J. B. Lightfoot devoted attention to Ignatius's "vivid appeal to the local experiences of an Ephesian audience," particularly regarding the Christ-bearer metaphor and local evidence for processions.[1] In doing so, Lightfoot was drawing on then recent archeological discoveries by John Turtle Wood published in 1887 (repr. 1975). Yet there is far more archeological evidence now available, evidence that provides further insight into such expressions of identity.

Other scholars have since given some attention to these metaphors, but often in a cursory way and rarely, if ever, with reference to local cultural life as attested in archeological evidence from Roman Asia. William R. Schoedel's commentary rightly understands the Christ-bearers in terms of a Greek religious procession, noting that "bearers" of sacred things can be found within this milieu (citing Plutarch, *Moralia* 352B, where the image is also used metaphorically). Schoedel also notes the importance of the background of the mysteries for understanding Ignatius's use of "fellow-initiates."[2] Yet Schoedel and other scholars do not give attention to artefactual remains that can illuminate what, concretely, these passages would spark in the imaginations of Ignatius and the addressees of his letters.

Here I explore the cultural images Ignatius evokes, particularly with reference to associations of initiates and processions. This illuminates how authors such as Ignatius could express Christian identity in terms familiar from local social and cultural life, particularly association life. Specifically, I examine epigraphic evidence from Ephesos, Smyrna, Magnesia (southeast of Ephesos), Tralles (east of Magnesia), and other cities that sheds light on what Ignatius may have had in mind. Perhaps more importantly, I explore what the listeners or readers of Ignatius in these cities of Roman Asia in the early second century would likely think of when Ignatius used these analogies to speak of their identities.

Fellow-Initiates and Their Mysteries

Ignatius designates the Christian assembly at Ephesos as "fellow-initiates of Paul" engaging in their own "mysteries" (μυστήρια). The specific designation "*fellow*-initiates" (συμμύσται) is common for unofficial associations engaging in mysteries throughout Asia Minor, including those cities addressed by Ignatius, and "initiates" (μύσται) is even more widespread.[3] Ignatius sustains this analogy in several of his letters, including those to the Magnesians and Trallians, and continues to speak of the revelation of "mysteries of Jesus Christ," which

1. Lightfoot 1889–1890, 2:17–18, 54–57.

2. Schoedel 1985, 67–68, 72–73, 89–90. H. Paulsen's (1985, 35–36) reworking of Bauer's commentary adds little on this.

3. For "fellow-initiates" see *ISmyrna* 330; *IStratonikeia* 845–46; *IApamBith* 103; *IPrusiasHyp* 845; *CCCA* I 60 (Pessinos, Galatia).

suggests this is a fairly consistent way of expressing identity. The mysteries he identifies center on the (virgin) birth, death and resurrection of Jesus, as well as the celebration of these in the Lord's Supper, which was administered by the "deacons of the mysteries" (*Eph.* 19.1–3; *Magn.* 9.1–2; *Trall.* 2.3).

Alongside the staple ritual of sacrifice, mysteries (μυστήρια, ὄργια, τελετή) were among the most respected ways of honouring the gods in the Roman era.[4] The term could encompass a variety of practices, including sacrifice, communal meals, reenactment of the myths of the gods, sacred processions, singing of hymns, and, of course, the revelation of holy things. There was an expectation that aspects of these practices were secretive, to be fully experienced only by the initiated. In some cases, those who followed the prescribed steps towards initiation, witnessing the mysteries of a given deity, joined together in an ongoing association of initiates. In Asia Minor, it is most common to hear of mysteries in connection with Dionysos, Demeter, the Great Mother (Cybele), and Isis, but there were mysteries for other deities as well. In fact, the notion of separate "mystery religions" (hence the old scholarly term) is problematic in that one could encounter mysteries as rituals in honour of deities within various contexts, from official civic and imperial cults to unofficial guilds and associations. It is the latter, more unofficial associations that best illuminate Ignatius's descriptions of Christians as initiates with their own mysteries.

Despite secretive dimensions of their rituals, associations of initiates were by no means shy in making their presence known within their hometowns. Ignatius and the followers of Jesus he addressed would have encountered public statements (inscriptions and visual representations on monuments) by such groups or by individual initiates. On a monument from Magnesia on the Maeander River (a locale addressed by Ignatius), an initiate of Dionysos publicizes the importance of Dionysiac associations in that community (*IMagnMai* 215; mid-second cent. CE). The initiate's republication of an "ancient oracle" claims that a divine manifestation of Dionysos, followed by consultation of the oracle of Apollo at Delphi, resulted in the foundation of Dionysiac "societies" (θίασοι) before there were any temples there. Implied is that the very foundation and continued well-being of the Magnesian community depended on such initiates and their deity. Secretive though the mysteries were, the presence of associations of initiates was, to say the least, public knowledge in Roman Asia Minor.

There were many such associations of initiates in the cities addressed by Ignatius, including Magnesia, Philadelphia, Tralles, Smyrna, and Ephesos.[5] There were several such associations in Smyrna, for instance, where Ignatius spent some time and from which he wrote his letters to congregations at Ephesos (*Eph.* 21.1), Magnesia (*Magn.* 15.1), and, probably, Tralles (*Trall.* 13.1). Particularly well attested in monuments from Smyrna are the initiates of Dionysos Breseus, a synod that was active at least from first to the third century.[6] A decade or so after Ignatius, these "initiates of the great Dionysos Breseus, preeminent

4. On the mysteries, see Burkert 1987 and the works cited by him. On comparison and the mysteries see Jonathan Z. Smith 1990; Gasparro 1985; and Harland 2003a, 90–97.

5. Cf. *IMagnMai* 117, 215 (Dionysos; early–mid second cent. CE); *ILydiaKP* I 42 (Philadelphia; Dionysos Kathegemon; second cent. CE); *ITralles* 74, 86 (Isis and Sarapis; second cent. CE), 168.

6. *ISmyrna* 600–601 (ca. 158 CE/ca. 163 CE), 622 (ca. 130 CE), 639 (late second cent. CE), 652 (first cent. CE), 729 (ca. 247 CE), 731–32 (ca. 80 CE); cf. *ISmyrna* 728 (Dionysiac-Orphic cult regulation).

Figure 4. Relief of Demeter from Kozçesme in northwestern Asia Minor, now in the Istanbul Archaeological Museum (fourth century BCE*)*

before the city" (*polis*) publicized their honours for Emperor "Hadrian, Olympios, saviour and founder" (*ISmyrna* 622). Another synod of initiates at Smyrna devoted to Demeter could make similar claims of preeminence in the city round about the time of Ignatius, and I return to the implied rivalries in chapter 7.[7] We know little about another group of "fellow-initiates," Ignatius's exact term, mentioned on an epitaph for a deceased member (*ISmyrna* 330).

Inscriptions from Ephesos provide glimpses into various such groups of initiates in the first two centuries, some of which would have been relatively well known in that city and likely familiar to the Christians who heard or read Ignatius's letter. Particularly noteworthy were the initiates of Demeter and those of Dionysos. See figure 4 for an image of the goddess Demeter seated on a throne, from northwestern Asia Minor. The worship of Demeter had a long history in Ephesos specifically (Herodotus *Hist.* 6.16). An association devoted to this deity is first attested in inscriptions by the time of Tiberius, when the group honoured several priests and priestesses who were important benefactors of the city and the association (*IEph* 4337; 19–23 CE).

It is from a monument dating to the time of Domitian that we learn more of this group

7. *ISmyrna* 653–55, 726 (all first–second cent. CE).

Figure 5. Statue of Dionysos, now in the Selçuk Archaeological Museum

of initiates of Demeter led by priestesses (*IEph* 213; 88–89 CE).[8] Among the regular celebrations of these initiates was a special yearly celebration that included "mysteries and sacrifices" performed "with great purity and lawful customs" in honour of both Fruit-Bearing (Karpophoros) Demeter and the "august" or "revered ones," the emperors as gods. It is worth noting that honours for the emperors, often alongside the gods, were a common feature within the lives of associations in Asia Minor.[9]

The Ephesian initiates of Dionysos are well attested in the epigraphical record as well, with one monument involving honours for the emperor Hadrian (*IEph* 275; cf. *IEph* 293, 434, 1020, 1601). An Ephesian statue of Dionysos, the god of the vine, is pictured in figure 5. Some time in the mid-second century the Dionysiac initiates joined with the initiates of Demeter to become one association, a combination of mysteries attested elsewhere as well (*IEph* 1595).[10] The Christ-bearing fellow-initiates at Ephesos had their holy-object-bearing counterparts in many of these same groups of initiates of Dionysos, Demeter, and others, which brings us to processions and bearers of sacred things.

8. Cf. *IEph* 1210, 1270; *NewDocs* IV 22.
9. See Harland 2000 and 2003.
10. Cf. *IG* IX.2 573, from Larisa, Macedonia.

Processions and Bearers of Sacred Things

Ignatius's characterization of the Christian group at Ephesos clearly evokes images from the world of processions when he speaks of them as "fellow-travellers, God-bearers, temple-bearers, Christ-bearers and holy-object-bearers adorned in every respect with the commandments of Jesus Christ" (σύνοδοι πάντες, θεοφόροι καὶ ναοφόροι, χριστοφόροι, ἁγιοφόροι, κατὰ πάντα κεκοσμημένοι ἐν ἐντολαῖς Ἰησοῦ Χριστοῦ; *Eph.* 9.1–2).[11] Also alluding to processions is his brief but perhaps no less significant summary of the Smyrnaeans' identity as, among other things, "the holy-object-bearing" congregation that is "most fitting for its God" (ἐκκλησίᾳ . . . θεοπρεπεστάτῃ καὶ ἁγιοφόρῳ; *Smyrn.* inscr.) [12]

Ignatius was not the first to draw on the analogy of processions to express (metaphorically) devotion to the gods, or to the Judean God specifically. Both Epictetus and Plutarch (Greco-Roman philosophers) speak metaphorically of bearing god, or sacred objects, within the soul as an analogy for fitting worship (Plutarch *Isis and Osiris* 352B). In seeking to correct someone's behavior, Epictetus (in Arrian's presentation) argues:

> You are bearing god about with you, you poor wretch, and know it not! Do you suppose I am speaking of some external god, made of silver or gold? It is within yourself that you bear him, and do not perceive that you are defiling him with impure thoughts and filthy actions. Yet in the presence of even an image of god you would not dare to do anything of the things you are now doing. (Epictetus *Discourses* 2.8.12–14)[13]

Perhaps culturally closer to Ignatius's metaphor is Philo's use of holy-object-bearing imagery. In connection with Gaius's attempt to violate Judean law by putting a statue in Jerusalem, Philo emphasizes the Judeans' eagerness to maintain their customs and laws: "Holding that the laws are oracles vouchsafed by God and having been trained in this doctrine from their earliest years, they bear in their souls the images of the commandments" (*Leg. Gai.* 210).[14] The parallel with Ignatius's idea of bearing the commandments of Christ is notable. Elsewhere, Philo speaks of the way in which humanity is made in the image of God, pointing out that it is in respect to "the mind" that humankind is created in the likeness of God: the mind is "in a fashion a god to him who carries and enshrines it as an object of reverence" (*Op. Mund.* 69). Furthermore, the analogy (including the term "Christ-bearer") was to persist within Christian circles long after Ignatius.[15]

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11. Ignatius's use of the term "adorned" (κοσμ- root words) here also draws on the terminology of processions in connection with bearing sacred objects or wearing sacred garments and other decorative paraphernalia (esp. "ornament" and "to adorn"; cf. Xenophon of Ephesos *An Ephesian Tale* 1.2).

12. In connection with Ignatius's epistolary inscriptions, it is worth mentioning his repeated emphasis on his own name, Theophoros or "God-bearer." Cf. Lightfoot 1889–1890, 2:20–21.

13. Trans. Oldfather 1926–28 (LCL).

14. Trans. Colson 1929–62 (LCL), with adaptations.

15. The processional metaphor of "Christ-bearing" and "God-bearing" continues in the church fathers (see Clement of Alexandria *Exhortation to the Greeks* 4; Eusebius *HE* 8.10, on "Christ-bearing

Figure 6. Relief depicting a procession of a maenad and two satyrs, from Villa Quintilliana near Rome, now in the British Museum (ca. 100 CE)

Turning to the more important local cultural context of Ignatius's imagery, the procession (πομπή) was central to festivals in honour of many gods and goddesses in a variety of settings in the Greco-Roman world, both official (civic and imperial cults) and unofficial (associations).[16] The relief in figure 6 shows a procession involving a maenad (frenzied female follower of Dionysos) and two satyrs (male attendants of the god). Processional rituals in either setting visually communicated the virtues, power, and efficacy of the deity in question, remapping sacred space and ensuring the continued favorable actions of the god or goddess (i.e., benefactions) in relation to the community. These rituals expressed concretely the identity of the god and of the community. Sacred objects, implements, images, and statues of various kinds were essential components in this visual communication for both observers and participants. Those who participated in the procession by proudly carrying the holy objects, even the gods themselves, provided a praiseworthy service to deity and community.

There were appropriate titles for the participants or functionaries who bore objects sacred to particular deities. Several of these correspond directly to Ignatius's list: "god-bearers," "sacred-object-bearers," "basket-bearers," "altar-bearers," "wand-bearers,"

martyrs"; Lightfoot 1889–1890, 2:55. The title "Christ-bearer" is attested in papyri (see Bell 1924, 100–102, 108–10, 114–15, on the "Christ-bearing" Paphnutius).

16. There are few studies of processions in the Roman era specifically, but see Nilsson 1961, 1:166–214; Burkert 1985, 99–101; Price 1984, 110–12; Rogers 1991, 80–126.

"symbol-bearers," "sign-bearers," "sacred-stone-bearers," and "phallus-bearers," to name a few attested in inscriptions.[17]

One second-century literary description of such rituals that reflects Ignatius's region of origin, Syria, will serve to illustrate the importance of processions and the carrying of holy objects. In *The Syrian Goddess*, Lucian of Samosata describes the rituals and festivals associated with the sanctuary of Atargatis ("Hera" in Lucian's terms), the mother goddess at Syrian Hierapolis (Bambyke).[18] Here processions and "bearers" of holy things played an important role in honorary activities for Atargatis and two other male deities, likely El and Baal (Zeus and Apollo). Twice yearly, worshippers participated in carrying water from the sea up to the sanctuary in commemoration of a legendary flood which, it is said, ended as a result of a great chasm—a sizable drain—sent by the gods at the site of the sanctuary (*Syr. D.* 12–13). It is on this occasion that a special golden "image" (ξόανον) or "sign" (σημήιον [*sic*]) affixed with symbols associated with Atargatis and the other Syrian gods made its journey, carried by temple functionaries, down to the sea "to fetch the water" (*Syr. D.* 33). Archeological materials (coins from Syrian Hierapolis and Carrhae and a relief from Dura) help to visualize the sign or standard in question, which would consist of a "shaft, the divine symbol or the figure of the deity at the top, symbols or images of deities attached to the shaft" (resembling Roman military standards), as M. Rostovtzeff explains.[19] Groups of "sign-bearers" are attested in connection with associations and mysteries in Asia Minor and elsewhere, as I discuss below.

Lucian points out that the deities of the sanctuary could be quite vocal about when and where the holy things were to be carried. When an oracular response was forthcoming from Baal (Apollo) at Syrian Hierapolis, once again bearers of holy things came to play a role at the god's initiative: "Whenever he wishes to deliver an oracle, he first moves on his throne, and the priests immediately lift him up. If they do not lift him, he begins to sweat and moves still more. When they put him on their shoulders and carry him, he leads them in every direction as he spins around and leaps from one place to another" (*Syr. D.* 36).[20] If the god moves his carriers forward, the answer to the oracle is affirmative, if backward, negative. During festivals called "descents to the lake" (apparently distinguished from the former flood-related festival), both Atargatis and El made the journey in procession, being carried down to the lake, but "Hera [Atargatis] goes first, for the sake of the fish, for fear Zeus [El] sees them first. For if this happens, they say that all the fish perish. He does come to have a look, but she stands in front of him, holds him off, and with many entreaties sends him away" (*Syr. D.* 47).

Ignatius's characterization of Jesus-followers at Ephesos as fellow-processionists bearing sacred objects alludes to aspects of cultural life that would be familiar not only in Syria but also in the cities of western Asia Minor. Processions involving statues and other sacred

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17. θεοφόροι, ἱεραφόροι, ἁγιαφόροι, λικναφόροι, καλαθηφόροι, βωμοφόροι, θυρσοφόροι, ναρθηκοφόροι, συμβόλαφόροι, σεμειαφόροι, λιθοφόροι, φαλλοφόροι. See Pleket 1970, 55–88, especially, p. 66, n. 15.

18. On the reliability of this account, see Jones 1986, 41–42. I consult the Greek text of Harmon 1913–67 (LCL).

19. Rostovtzeff 1942, 100 and plates V-VI. Cf. Pleket 1970, 67–72. Rostovzeff (1942) and H. Seyrig (1960, 233–52) show that "Semea" was not a Syrian deity as originally suggested.

20. Trans. Attridge and Oden 1976. Greek text cited from Harmon 1913–67 (LCL).

Figure 7. Statue of Artemis of Ephesos, now in the Selçuk Archaeological Museum

objects were an important component in the civic festivals that honoured Ephesos's official patron deity, Artemis Ephesia, who is pictured in figure 7.[21] There were several boards of functionaries connected with the Artemis sanctuary that were responsible for carrying sacred objects of various kinds in processions, including "ornament-bearers" (κοσμοφόροι) and "gold-bearers" (χρυσοφόροι).[22] In his second-century novel *An Ephesian Tale*, Xenophon of Ephesos begins his story with a description of just such a procession in honour of Artemis, speaking of the "great crowd of Ephesians and visitors alike" who witnessed the procession file past led by well-adorned young girls and youths (ephebes), "first the sacred objects, the torches, the baskets, and the incense" (1.2–3).[23] The procession culminated in a sacrificial ceremony in the sanctuary of the goddess.

Particularly noteworthy in connection with Ignatius's epistle to the Ephesians, however, is that a wealthy Ephesian benefactor, C. Vibius Salutaris, upon his death in 104 CE,

21. Cf. Strabo, *Geography* 14.1.20.

22. See Picard 1922, 240–46. Cf. *IEph* 14, line 23.

23. Trans. Anderson 1989, 125–69. Cf. *The Martyrdom of Saint Timothy* (Keil 1935, 82–92).

pumped a substantial amount of new funds into multiple processions in honour of Artemis, Ephesian mythological and historical figures, and (not surprisingly) Salutaris himself (*IEph* 27).[24] Few inhabitants of Ephesos at the time would have been ignorant of this important foundation, as Salutaris no doubt intended. It established frequent processions, perhaps on average about once every two weeks.[25] Guy MacLean Rogers notes that the throng of 260 participants, "bearing conspicious silver and gold statues through the narrow streets of Ephesos, must have impeded, if not altogether halted, traffic within the city at procession time."[26]

The most prominent participants were the youths (ephebes) who carried gold and silver images or statues of Artemis, of the Ionian and Hellenistic founders, and of the Roman imperial family in the processions through the city. Statues of the emperors, alongside other gods, were an important component in a similar foundation (by C. Julius Demosthenes) for processions at Oenoanda (in Lycia), a function carried out by the "*Sebastoi*-bearers," those who carried images of the emperors as gods.[27]

Also among the beneficiaries and participants of the Ephesian foundation were the hymn-singers of Artemis as well as the elders' organization and boards connected with the Artemis sanctuary, including the "gold-bearers of Artemis."[28] The gold-bearers of Artemis formed a "sanhedrin" which consisted of members drawn from both the priests of the temple and the athletic guild of "sacred victors."[29] Such guilds of "sacred victors from the world" toured Asia Minor, competing in international contests and leaving behind monumental evidence of their victories.[30] Although the appellation "gold-bearer" is attested elsewhere as merely a civic honorary title,[31] it is clear that, in the case of this Ephesian group, literally carrying sacred golden objects in processions was among the key services this group provided. In the time of Hadrian, for instance, they are described as "the priests and sacred victors who carry the golden ornament of the great goddess Artemis" (*IEph* 276).[32] These gold-bearers were, quite literally, god-bearers.

Another informative inscription from the village of Almoura, in the territory of Ephesos (just inland in the Cayster valley), involves the dedication of sacred objects to be carried

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24. On this inscription, see Rogers 1991.

25. See Rogers (1991, 83) for the procession schedule.

26. Rogers 1991, 86.

27. Wörrle 1988, 10–11, 216–19 = *SEG* 38 (1988), no. 1462, C (time of Hadrian). Cf. Robert 1969, 2:1275–78. Allen Brent's recent study of "Ignatius of Antioch and the Imperial Cult" (Brent 1998, 30–58) rightly identifies the importance of processions in Ignatius's thought world, but the study is methodologically flawed in its tendency to suggest allusions to imperial cults throughout Ignatius's letters where no explicit identification is possible. See Harland 2003a, 239–51.

28. There was an association at Ephesos called the "gold-bearing icon-bearers" (*IEph* 546). The priests in Magnesia's civic cult may also have been known as "gold-bearing priests of Artemis Leukophryene," as O. Kern suggests (see *IMagnMai* 119).

29. Cf. Rogers 1991, 56–57; *IEph* 27.451–526, 28, 276, 943, 951, 991 (second cent. CE) 3263, 4330 (231–234 CE).

30. Cf. *IAphrodSpect* 66–68, 89–90 (= *IEph* 11), 93; *IDidyma* 107, 201, 272; *TAM* V 977 (Thyatira). On athletic associations see Pleket 1973, 197–227.

31. Cf. *ITralles* 73, 90, 134, 145.

32. See Robert 1975, 324.

in processions for the mysteries of the goddess Demeter and the god Men respectively.[33] In it, P. Aelius Menekrates dedicates income from the shops he owns to purchase a "basket set in silver" for use during the procession as part of Demeter's mysteries. Other inscriptions from Ephesos mention a female functionary called a "basket-bearer" (καλαθηφόρος) whose responsibility it would be to lead in carrying the basket containing the sacred objects in processions like this one at Almoura (see *IEph* 1060, 1070, 1071).[34] In Almoura men were also participants in the procession alongside the priestesses and other women.

The same benefactor, Menekrates, also donated a silver "sign" or "standard" (σημήα [*sic*])—a term we have already encountered in Lucian—to be carried in processions preceding the mysteries and sacred banquet for the god Men, who "presided over the village" as patron. There were corresponding functionaries, called "symbol-bearers," in a cult devoted to Men and Artemis Anaetis in a village near Philadelphia (in Lydia).[35] There was also an association called the "sign-bearers of Apollo Archegetes" at Phrygian Hierapolis which, like many other local associations, was responsible for the upkeep of benefactors' graves. Their name suggests that they carried a standard with symbols of Hierapolis's patron deity in their own rituals and, perhaps, also in a yearly civic celebration (*IHierapJ* 153; second cent. CE).[36] There was also a sign-bearer alongside narthex-bearers, a lamp-bearer and basket-bearers in an association of Dionysiac initiates at Cillae in Thracia (*IGBulg* 1517; third cent. CE).

Other inscriptions from Asia Minor attest to bearers of sacred things, some of them in connection with unofficial associations and groups that celebrated mysteries. These provide an important interpretive framework for Ignatius's description of the unofficial Christian congregation of Christ-bearing fellow-initiates. I turn first to associations devoted to Isis, then to those linked with Dionysos and the Great Mother.

Plutarch's reference (*Moralia* 352B) to the "sacred-object-bearers" (ιεραφόροι) among initiates in the mysteries of Isis—a favourite literary citation among scholars who deal with Ignatius's analogy[37]—has less-noted counterparts in inscriptions from various locales. Among these are the two "sacred-object-bearers" who set up statues at Pergamon in honour of Sarapis, Isis, Anubis, and other deities in the first century (*IPergamon* 336 = *SIRIS* 313).[38] It is in a similar milieu of Isis worship at Athens that we encounter the synonymous (but less common) "holy-object-bearer" (ἁγιαφόρος), the precise term that Ignatius uses of the Christians (*IG* III 162 = *SIRIS* 16; ca. 120 CE).

Apuleius of Madaura's story of the mysteries of Isis in Cenchreae in Greece describes in detail a sacred procession involving women, musicians, boys, initiates, and priests bearing sacred objects of various kinds (among them a lamp, sacrificial pot, golden palm tree, golden vessel in the shape of a woman's breast, winnowing basket, and wine jar) (*Met.*, book 11).

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33. Pleket 1970, 61–74, no. 4 = Lane 1971–76, 1:49–50, no. 75 (mid-second century).

34. Pleket 1970, 63. Cf. Oster 1990, 1671–73.

35. Herrmann 1996, 315–41, no. 27. For discussion see Lane 1971–76, 3:36–37. Cf. *TAM* IV 76 (Nikomedia).

36. See Pleket 1970, 64–72

37. E.g., Schoedel 1985, 67.

38. Cf. *SIRIS* 52 (Thebes), 62 (Chaeronea, third cent. CE), 109 (Thessalonica, second cent. CE), 254 (Samos). There is also an "altar-bearer" attested in connection with Isis at Pergamon (*SIRIS* 315) and a "fire-bearer" at Epidaurus (*SIRIS* 38). Cf. Dunand 1973, 3:63–65.

He also mentions the order of *pastophoroi* (παστοφόροι), which are attested in Greek and Latin inscriptions as well.[39] These were, most likely, "shrine-bearers" who carried miniature temples in processions,[40] which provides a close analogy for Ignatius's "temple-bearers." The bearing of miniature, sacred shrines or temples was not limited to the worship of Isis, as Herodotus's and Didorus Siculus's description of certain Egyptian cults suggests.[41] It seems reasonable to imagine the presence of similar "bearers" of sacred objects among groups of devotees of Isis and Sarapis in Roman Asia, such as the initiates who are attested at Tralles in the early second century (*ITralles* 86 = *SIRIS* 295; time of Hadrian) and, perhaps, the guild of workers in the fishery toll-office at Ephesos which possessed an altar and statue of Isis, probably their patron deity (*IEph* 1503; time of Antoninus Pius). Earlier "cistophoric" coins (second–first cent. BCE) from Tralles, Ephesos, and other locales in Asia Minor depict the basket that was carried in such mystic processions in honour of Isis. [42]

Evidence for such bearers in processions and mysteries is forthcoming from Dionysiac groups, which were widespread in Asia Minor.[43] Several inscriptions from Ephesos mention the title and role of "*thrysus*-bearer," or "wand-bearer" (θυρσοφόρος), in celebrations for Dionysos (*IEph* 1268, 1601–2). The Asian-influenced association of initiates at Torre Nova, Italy (ca. 160 CE), under the direction of their priestess (Pompeia Agrippinilla), included various such functionaries among its members including "winnowing-basket-bearers," "basket-bearers," "fire-bearers," "phallus-bearer," and "god-bearers" (*IGUR* I 160).[44] These were titles and functions of fundamental importance to the mythology and mysteries of the god in question. As M. P. Nilsson notes, the "*liknon* filled with fruit among which a phallus rises, often covered with a cloth, is the characteristic symbol of the Bacchic mysteries of the Roman age."[45] Elsewhere in Asia Minor, near Thyatira, we hear of an association that called itself the "narthex-bearing company." The narthex plant was among the favourite choices for wands in Dionysiac mysteries (*TAM* V 817, 822).

Sacred associations devoted to the Great Mother of Anatolia, Cybele, existed throughout Lydia, Phrygia, and the Roman world generally, including regions such as Moesia and Thracia. In Romanized versions of such groups, "reed-bearers" and "tree-bearers" played a key role, the latter carrying the decorated pine trees in processions that commemorated the death of Attis during the March festival.[46]

Visual depictions on monuments from northwestern Asia Minor help to bring such processions by associations to life. A monument from Kyzikos pictures a procession in

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39. *SIRIS* 433 (Rome, second or third cent. CE), 709 (Tomi, Moesia Inferior, third cent. CE).

40. Cf. Vidman 1970, 211–12.

41. Cf. Diodorus Siculus 1.97; Herodotus 2.63. If V. Chapot's claim that there was a board of "temple-bearers" at Ephesos is correct, then there is a clear local parallel for Ignatius's use of the term; but Chapot does not cite any specific inscriptions (Chapot 1967 [1904], 516–17; cf. Picard 1922, 242).

42. See Dunand 1973, 78–79; Hölbl 1978, esp. plate XII, no. 1b; Magie 1953, 163–87.

43. See Nilsson 1957.

44. Cf. Vogliano 1933, 215–31; Nilsson 1957, 21–57; *IGBulg* 401, 1517 (Asian-influenced initiates in Thracia).

45. Nilsson 1957, 21.

46. On tree-bearers in the Danubian provinces, see Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 73–74 (no. 4 from Novae), 93–95 (no. 48 from Tomi), 116–18 (no. 101 from Serdica), 148–50.

honour of the Great Mother (*CCCA* I 289; first cent. BCE). The relief depicts Cybele in a quite typical manner, seated on a throne with lions on either side. Below her is shown a procession of eight devotees approaching an altar with upraised hands in adoration of the goddess. The procession would culminate in a sacrificial scene similar to that depicted in another relief from Triglia (near Apamea on the Propontis) set up by the members of the "synagogue of Zeus" in honour of Stratonike, the priestess of Mother Cybele and Apollo (*IApamBith* 35, with photo = *CCCA* I 252; 119 BCE or, more likely, 85 CE). The relief pictures Stratonike, along with a boy guiding the sacrificial victim (a sheep) and a girl playing the Phrygian double flute. They proceed towards the altar with upraised hands in adoration of Cybele and Apollo. Beneath this processional–sacrificial scene are pictured the members of the association reclining for a banquet as they eat souvlaki and listen to flute players.[47] Evidently, processions, along with related functionaries and rituals, were an integral part of activities in many associations, which brings us back to the unofficial congregations addressed by Ignatius.

Conclusion

The case of Ignatius illustrates how certain educated, early Christian authors could draw on familiar concepts and categories from local cultural life, including association life, in order to define and express the identities of congregations. In particular, Ignatius drew on concepts and imagery from the life of local associations devoted to mysteries, characterizing the congregations as groups of fellow-initiates with their own, special mysteries. Alongside this characterization are other analogies drawn from practices in the mysteries and from processions that often involved groups and organizations of various types, including associations.

I would suggest that the effect of such internal self-definitions would be, in part, to provide a sense of place for these Christians within local cultural life despite the other ways in which such minority groups stood apart from others. Ignatius was a relatively educated, literate author, but it seems that his ways of expressing Christian identities nonetheless came to influence others within these congregations. In the next two chapters, I turn to the internal language of belonging that was used among average members within associations, beginning with fictive brother language.

47. See the photo of *GIBM* IV.2 1007 in chapter 1, as well as the discussion of such depictions of association meetings in Harland 2003a, 56–59; Mitropoulou 1990, 472–74.

Part 2

Familial Dimensions of Group Identity

3

"Brothers" in Associations and Congregations

Introduction

Social identity theorists emphasize the role of both internal definitions and external categorizations in dynamics of group identity construction and reformulation. There is a sense in which internal definitions are primary in the construction of identities. In these two chapters I further explore instances of these internal group processes in the ancient context by looking at the use of fictive family language within associations and cultural minority groups, including associations of Christians and of Judeans (Jews).

Identity formation and negotiation take place primarily through social interaction, in this case interaction among members in a particular group. Many social identity theorists stress the importance of language not only in the communication of identities but also in the construction and negotiation of identities, both in terms of internal self-definition and external categorizations.[1] Identities are created or re-created through verbal or nonverbal communication. In surveying the social-scientific literature on how identity is "done," Judith A. Howard stresses how "people actively produce identity through their talk."[2] Discourses of belonging that took place among members within associations, including cultural minority groups, are therefore an excellent place to start in understanding dynamics of group identity.

I argue that Judean and Christian practices of employing family language reflect common modes of formulating and communicating identity or belonging within certain groups in the ancient Mediterranean. These usages suggest ways in which these cultural minority groups mirrored the majority culture in significant ways relating to processes of self-definition and interactions among individual members of a group.

Early Christian congregations, like other associations, could express their identities in a variety of ways, and this included the use of family language to express belonging within the group in certain cases. The language of familial relation, particularly the term "brothers" (ἀδελφοί), is prominent in Paul's letters and subsequently continues with some

1. See Howard 2000, 371–73.
2. Howard 2000, 372.

importance in segments of early Christianity.[3] For example, Paul's first letter to the Christians at Thessalonica, which seeks to comfort Christians faced with "afflictions," is densely packed with references to "the brothers."[4] David G. Horrell notes that "brothers" / "sisters" is used over 112 times in Paul's authentic letters, and Horrell argues that the "prominence of this kinship description would seem to imply that Paul both assumes and promotes the relationship between himself and his addressees, and among the addressees themselves, as one between equal siblings, who share a sense of affection, mutual responsibility, and solidarity."[5] The author of 1 Peter calls on followers of Jesus in Asia Minor to "love the brotherhood" (ἀδελφότης; 1 Pet 2:17; cf. 5:9). Ignatius of Antioch (who knows and uses Paul's letters) reflects continued use of brother language within Christian congregations in Roman Asia and in Syria, yet he also applies the term "brothers" to outsiders as well.[6]

Many scholars pursue the meaning of this figurative sibling language *within* Christianity, especially its Pauline forms, including R. Banks, Wayne A. Meeks, K. Schäfer, K. O. Sandnes, J. H. Hellerman, David G. Horrell, and Trevor J. Burke, in recent years.[7] With the exception of useful studies by Peter Arzt-Grabner and Reidar Aasgaard, very few go beyond this internal Christian usage to focus on other Greco-Roman uses of the sibling metaphor. In particular, we lack studies that sufficiently explore epigraphic and papyrological evidence for fictive kinship within small-group settings or associations in the Greek-speaking, eastern Mediterranean.[8]

One reason for this neglect is that, although many scholars rightly point to the importance of Paul's use of fictive kinship for understanding group identity, this is sometimes explained by scholars in terms of sectarianism in a sociological sense. In particular, Bryan R. Wilson's sociological sect typology has been extremely influential in social-historical studies of early Christianity.[9] So much so that the categorization of early Christian groups as "sects" has become standard practice, as I noted in chapter 1. This chapter further highlights problems in how these groups have been categorized as "sects" and builds on my substantial critique of those approaches in my earlier work.[10]

To provide an influential example of how sibling language is approached, Meeks is among those who correctly emphasize the community-reinforcing impact of the term "brothers" as used in Pauline circles. Yet Meeks goes further to argue that Paul's use of "brothers" is indicative of how "members are taught to conceive of only two classes of humanity: the sect and the outsiders."[11] The use of affective language within Pauline circles

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3. E.g., 1 Thess 1:4; 2:1; 3:2; 4:1; 5:1, 4, 12; Matt 5:22–23; 12:49; Acts 2:29; 3:17; 13:15; 1 Pet 2:17; 5:9; Jas 1:2; 2:1; 3:1; 1 John 3:13–16.

4. See 1 Thess 1:4; 2:1; 3:2; 4:1; 5:1, 4, 12.

5. Horrell 2001, 299.

6. Applied to insiders: *Poly.* 5.1; *Smyrn.* 12.1; 13.1; *Eph.* 16.1; *Rom.* 6.2. Applied to outsiders: *Eph.* 10.3. "Brothers" occurs in his letters to Tralles and to Magnesia.

7. Banks 1994 [1980]; Meeks 1983, 85–89; Schäfer 1989; Sandnes 1994; Horrell 2001; Burke 2003. For earlier studies, see especially Schelkle 1954, 631–35.

8. Arzt-Grabner 2002, 185–204; Aasgaard 2004, esp. chs. 4–7.

9. See, for instance, Wilson 1970, 1973, 1982.

10. See Harland 2003a, 177–212.

11. Meeks 1983, 86 (also see pp. 85–88); cf. Lane Fox 1986, 324–25; Sandnes 1994; Elliott 1990, 165–266.

was an important component in "the break with the past and integration into the new community."[12] Most Christian groups strongly set themselves apart from society and the common use of family language is one further indicator of their status as "sects," from this perspective.

An important assumption behind this argument for a sectarian understanding of fictive family language is that such usage is, in some sense, *unique* (or at least peculiar) to early Christians and, to a lesser extent, their close cultural relatives, Judeans.[13] In this view, such modes of address were *not* significant within small-group settings, organizations, or cults in the Greco-Roman world. It is common among some scholars, such as Meeks and Hellerman, both to assert the *rarity* of fictive family language within associations or "clubs" and to discount evidence of such usage that does exist in these settings as lacking any real implications for a sense of belonging or communal identity.[14] Although Meeks admits that fictive sibling terminology was "not unknown in pagan clubs and cult associations," for instance, he does not further explore the evidence and he dismisses some cases he is aware of as insignificant and primarily indicative of "Roman influence."[15]

Meeks, like Robin Lane Fox, Walter Burkert, and others, stresses the differences between associations, on the one hand, and both Christian congregations and Judean gatherings, on the other, and the familial language issue is one component in this contrast.[16] Implied or stated is the idea that, in contrast to Christian groups, most associations (including groups of initiates in the mysteries) lacked a developed sense of communal identity (they were mere "clubs"). In some ways, early Christian groups are taken as ideal or true communities with affective bonds among members.

There is no such consensus concerning fictive kinship terms among scholars of Greco-Roman religions, epigraphy, and associations specifically. Beginning with Erich Ziebarth in the late nineteenth century, several scholars briefly note occurrences of sibling language within associations. Yet these scholars are generally divided on whether *the practice* was relatively common or infrequent in the Greek East.[17] Several, such as Franz Bömer, Franz Poland, and others who depend on them, argue that the practice of using familial terms for fellow-members ("brothers") was relatively unknown in Greek associations.[18] Furthermore, Bömer suggests that the cases where it is attested in Greek inscriptions are results of

12. Meeks 1983, 88.

13. Both Franz Bömer and Meeks emphasize the distinctiveness of Christian usage while also suggesting Judean influence (Bömer 1981 [1958–63], 179; Meeks 1983, 87). Cf. Lieu 2004, 166–67.

14. Cf. Meeks 1983, 225 n. 73; Burkert 1987, 45; Lane Fox 1986, 324–35; Schmeller 1995, 16–17; McCready 1996, 59–73; Hellerman 2001, 21–25.

15. Meeks 1983, 87. Cf. Bömer (1981 [1958–63], 172), who considers fictive brother-language "un-Greek."

16. Lane Fox 1986, 85, 324–25; Burkert 1987, 30–53.

17. Ziebarth 1896, 100–101; Waltzing 1895–1900, 1.329–30 n. 3 (on the West primarily); Poland 1909, 54–56; Nock 1924, 105; San Nicolo 1972, 1.33–34 n. 4; Schelkle 1954, 631–634; Bömer 1981 [1958–63], 172–78; Fraser 1977, 74, 78, 164–65 nn. 433–37; Burkert 1987, 45, 149 n. 77; Kloppenborg 1996b, 259; van Nijf 1997, 46–49; Ustinova 1999, 185–88; Harland 2003a, 31–33; Ascough 2003, 76–77.

18. Poland suggests that the only clear case of fictive "brothers" in associations involves the "adopted brothers" at Tanais (Poland 1909, 54–55). Other potential cases are dismissed as Christian or as involving real siblings.

Roman or western influence, and therefore lacking significance for understanding association life in the Greek East.[19]

On the other hand, studies by A. D. Nock, Mariano San Nicolo, K. H. Schelkle, P. M. Fraser, and G. H. R. Horsley suggest that, despite the partial nature of our evidence, familial terminology may have been more common within cults and associations in the Greek East (and elsewhere) than often assumed.[20] Apparently no one has assembled and fully discussed the range of epigraphic evidence, and considerable evidence has come to light recently. Presenting and discussing the Greek inscriptional and papyrological evidence for fictive familial address here may help to clarify this issue in a more satisfactory manner.

Here I use some intriguing first-century archeological evidence from Paul's home-province, Cilicia, as an entry-way into the language of belonging within unofficial associations and guilds, particularly fictive kinship language and the sibling solidarity metaphor. The aim is to draw attention to familial expressions of identity within associations and cults of various kinds with special attention to the Greek-speaking, eastern part of the empire. I argue that there is no reason to minimize the significance of familial expressions of belonging within non-Christian, Greco-Roman contexts in the Greek East while doing the contrary in the case of Christianity. In both cases we are witnessing processes whereby connections among members of a group could be formed, expressed, and solidified, creating or maintaining a sense of communal identity. This way of putting it may show that I am not concerned with oversimplified issues of "borrowing" and genealogical cultural connections, nor with the unanswerable question of whether Paul derived his usage solely from Judean (e.g., synagogues) or from Hellenistic (e.g., associations) contexts, contexts which were less compartmentalized than often assumed, as we are learning. Instead, I am concerned with exploring shared ways of expressing identity and belonging in small group settings.

The nature of archeology and epigraphy limits the degree to which we should expect to be able to witness or evaluate such relational expressions, which are more suited to personal address (e.g., personal letters or face-to-face encounters as sometimes described in narrative or historical sources). Nonetheless, there are clear indications that *some* Greeks and Romans, like *some* Judeans and *some* followers of Jesus in the first centuries, did express a sense of belonging in an association, guild, or organization by identifying their fellows as "brothers" (or, less often attested, "sisters"). The Greek evidence spans the eastern part of the empire, including Asia Minor, Greece, Macedonia, the Danube, the Bosporan kingdom, and Egypt. Furthermore, the evidence dates to the centuries both before and after Paul, further suggesting that we should not so lightly dismiss its continuing significance within certain social settings.

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19. Bömer 1981 [1958–63], 172–179; cf. Poland 1909, 54–55 (cf. pp. 371–73). Bömer and Poland influence other scholars: e.g., van Nijf 1997, 46 n. 73; Meeks 1983, 225, n. 73 (cf. Kloppenborg 1996b, 259; Ascough 2003, 76 n. 18).

20. Nock goes so far as to argue that the "cult-association is primarily a family" (Nock 1924, 105; cf. Barton and Horsley 1981, 26; Ascough 2003, 76–77). See San Nicolo 1972, 1.33–34 n. 4. In *NewDocs* V 4 (on p. 73), Horsley critiques N. Turner's dismissal of the use of "brother" within associations, citing several instances of its use.

Cautions on the Nature of Sources

Meeks and others who follow him suggest that brother language was *rare* in Greco-Roman associations or cults and relatively common within Christian groups. Yet it seems that these scholars have not taken into account a key difference in the genre of our sources for early Christian groups as opposed to associations. We have personal letters pertaining to early Christian groups (reflecting personal interactions), but rarely have any literary or epistolary evidence for the internal life of other associations. Instead, we have monuments, including honorary inscriptions and epitaphs on graves.

This has important implications regarding the assessment of things such as fictive family language and its relative frequency or importance in Christian, Judean, or other Greco-Roman settings. For in inscriptions (with their formal restrictions) there would be few occasions incidentally to make reference to the day-to-day language of belonging that was used in real-life settings (beyond the title of the group, for instance). The Judean epigraphic evidence is instructive on this point, for although we know that fictive sibling language was used by some Judeans in the Hellenistic and Roman periods (as reflected in the literature), so far we lack inscriptions that attest to the use of "brothers" among members of diaspora synagogues.[21] More importantly, although we find fictive uses of "brothers" / "sisters" in the mouths of educated Christian authors early on, such as Paul, most *epigraphic* attestations of the use of "brothers" considerably postdate our earliest inscriptional evidence for Christianity (which begins about 180 CE). Although "brother" is commonly used in the literature, the earliest Christian epitaphs that have been found do not use fictive sibling language at all, as far as I can see.[22]

So the probability remains that even if particular associations did use such fictive sibling language on a regular basis in real-life settings to indicate a sense of belonging, this

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21. E.g., 1 Macc 12:10, 17; 2 Macc 1:1; 4 Macc 13:23, 26; 14:1; Josephus *War* 2.122, and, of course, the Dead Sea Scrolls (cf. Aasgaard 2004, 125–26; Horrell 2001, 296). See the indices of *CIJ* and *IJO* I-III, for instance. Meeks readily dismisses inscriptional evidence for brother language that does exist because of its supposed infrequency, asserting that "[m]ost likely . . . the early Christians took their usage from the Jews" (Meeks 1983, 87). Yet Meeks does not cite any epigraphic cases of the Judean usage (for the first two centuries), and what he does not mention is that we lack such evidence at this point (notwithstanding the few references to "brotherly/sisterly love" [φιλάδελφοι], only some of which are likely figurative). There is an inconsistency in Meeks's approach.

22. So far as I am aware, there are no clear cases of fictive sibling language in Christian inscriptions and epitaphs from the Greek East and Asia Minor before Constantine, including the "Christian for Christians" inscriptions of Phrygia, for instance (Gibson 1978; cf. Snyder 2003 [1985], 210–65). There are a number of instances of "brother(s)/sister(s)" or "beloved brother(s)" as forms of address in papyri that are quite securely Christian, particularly those dating to the third, fourth, and fifth centuries, e.g., *NewDocs* IV 124 and Snyder 2003 [1985], 270–72 (F), 273–77 (I), 278 (L), 282–84 (Z), 284–85 (CC). One of the difficulties here is that the scholarly assumption that "pagans" did *not* tend to use such terms of familial address has been a criterion for identifying letters as Christian based on the presence of brother language. See the discussion of *PRyl* IV 604 further below, for instance, which is now clearly established as "pagan," but still wrongly categorized as Christian by Snyder 2003 [1985], 281–82 (Y) and others.

would *rarely be expressed* on a monument. Relative rarity of expression in inscriptions should not be confused with rarity of practice. What this does mean is that we should pay special attention to the available Greco-Roman materials, rather than ignoring or dismissing them based on issues of presumed infrequency or insignificance.

Asia Minor, Greece, the Danube, and the Bosporan Region

References to "brother(s)" or "sister(s)" (ἀδελφός, -οί / ἀδελφή, -αί) in Greek inscriptions are, of course, not uncommon (especially in epitaphs), but we have the difficulty of assessing when such references are to fictive rather than "real" siblings. Thankfully, there are occasions when we can be confident in recognizing the figurative use of sibling language, including a clear case from first-century Cilicia, likely Paul's home province.

A series of tombs discovered carved into the mountain rock in the vicinity of Lamos in central Rough Cilicia (southwest of Tarsus) pertains to collective burial sites of associations dating to the period before Vespasian.[23] The majority of these common memorials make no mention of a title for the group or of terminology that members would use in referring to one another. In most of these shared tombs there is simply a list of members' names with no further identification (*IKilikiaBM* II 197, 198, 200, 202), or a statement of the leader's name followed by the list of "those with him" (οἱ μετ' αὐτοῦ; *IKilikiaBM* I 34; *IKilikiaBM* II 201). Certainly there are clear signs of belonging in all of these cases in the sense that these individuals consciously "joined together," as one inscription puts it, and they were concerned to ensure that only their members and no one else was to be buried there (*IKilikiaBM* I 34).

So although there are several associations at this locale, only one of them incidentally provides a glimpse into the terminology of belonging which could be used among members, in this case fictive brother language. The inscription in question (*IKilikiaBM* II 201) from Lamos reads as follows:

> *column a = lines 1–20*
>
> Rhodon son of Kydimasas, Selgian, and those with him: Pyramos son of Pyramos, Selgian, Mindyberas son of Arestes, Selgian, Aetomeros Manis, Lylous son of Menos, Selgian, Ketomaneis son of Kibrios, Zezis son of Oubramis, Kendeis son of Zenonis, Aigylis son of Oubramis, Dinneon son of Pigemis, Selgian. This is our common memorial and it is not lawful for anyone to bury another body here. But if anyone buries another here let him pay a pair of oxen and three *mina* (= 100 drachmai) to Zeus, three *mina* and a pair of oxen to Apollo, and three *mina* to the people (δῆμος). But if anyone should go up and wish to sell his common ownership (κοινωνεία), it is not lawful . . .

23. Bean and Mitford 1962, 209–11, nos. 33–35; *IKilikiaBM* I 34; *IKilikiaBM* II 197, 198, 202, 205; cf. *IKilikiaBM* II 189–202 for Lamos generally. The tombs are dated to the time of Vespasian (69–70 CE) or earlier based on the fact that they use "*drachmai*" rather than "*denaria,*" which suggests that they date to the period before Vespasian joined Rough Cilicia with the Cilician plain (see notes to *IKilikiaBM* II 196).

column b = lines 21–35

For it is not lawful to sell from abroad (or, possibly: sell outside the group), but let him take from the common treasury 30 *staters* and let him depart. But if some brother wants to sell, let the other brothers (ἀδελφοὶ) purchase it. But if the brothers so wish, then let them receive the coins mentioned above and let them depart from the association (κονοῦ [*sic*]).
But whenever someone dies, and has no one to carry out the funeral . . .
(see the Greek text of column b = lines 21–35 in the note).[24]

The membership in the association consists of ten men under the leadership of Rhodon from Selge, and four other members are likewise immigrants from that city (*polis*) in Pamphylia. We know from several other tombs in the vicinity (near the modern sites of Adanda and Direvli) that Selgian immigrants were particularly prominent in the profession of masonry.[25] The Rhodon in question may be identified with the artisan who carved another tomb in the area (*IKilikiaBM* II 199) and who was responsible for some sculptural work at nearby Selinos (*IKilikiaBM* II 156). It may well be that the members of this association shared this profession, though this is not expressly the case. It may also be that most or all of the members (beyond the Selgians) were immigrants to the area, forming an association along the lines of the sort of immigrant associations I discuss in chapter 5.

What interests us most here is the incidental reference to terminology of belonging used among members of the group. In outlining rules concerning members' share in the tomb and the question of selling this share, the group had decided to emphasize the need to ensure that portions within the tomb remained among members of the group. They consistently refer to such fellow-members as "brothers."[26] In the event that one of the "brothers" wished to "go up," perhaps to his hometown (Selge may be in mind), then he must not sell from abroad, or outside of the current membership. Instead, the departing member should receive his payment back or the other "brothers" may purchase the portion. The final stipulation (before the gap) is unclear but seems to suggest that if a number of the members decide to leave (returning to their hometowns, perhaps), then they too may receive their payments back.

There are other cases from Asia Minor involving fellow-members of an association or cultic organization who likewise employ brother terminology. A number of inscriptions pertaining to functionaries in cults at several locales, many of which also refer to "victory" (νίκη), appear to use the term "brother" as a designation for a priest. At Halicarnassos (on the western coast of Asia Minor, opposite the island of Cos) there are two, perhaps three, monuments on which priests (ἱερεῖς) in a temple are referred to as "brother priests" (ἱερεῖς

24. ἔξοθεν πωλῆσαι, ἀλ|λὰ λαμβανέτω ἐκ τοῦ | κοινοῦ στατῆρες τριά|κοντα καὶ ἀποχωρείτω. | ἐὰν δέ τινος ἀδελφὸς | θελήσει ἀποπωλῆσ|αι, ἀγοραζέσθωσαν οἱ | ἕτεροι ἀδελφοί. εἰ δὲ μὴ | θέλωσιν οἱ ἀδελφοί, τό|τε λανβάντωσαν τὸ πρ|ογεγραμμένον κερ[μ]|άτιον καὶ ἐκχωρείτω[σα|ν] ἐκ τοῦ κονοῦ (*sic*) ὅταν δέ | τις ἀποθάνῃ καὶ μὴ συνεξενένκῃ τις (column b = lines 21–35).

25. Cf. *IKilikiaBM* I 34; *IKilikiaBM* II 196, 197, 198, 199, 200.

26. Also see van Nijf 1997, 46–49, who recognizes that this is an example of fictive sibling language despite his view that such practice was rare.

ἀδελφοί).[27] A similar dedication for victory involving subordinate temple functionaries has been found at nearby Mylasa, in which two men are called "good, brother under-priests" (καλῶν ἀ|δελφῶν ὑποιερέ|ων; *IMylasa* 544). Further north and east in the province of Asia, at Synaos in the Aezanatis valley (northeast of Sardis), a recently discovered epitaph of the second century involves an individual functionary consecrated to the god (a ἱερός) who is referred to as "brother *hieros*" (*MAMA* X 437; cf. *SEG* 43 [1993], no. 893). Although we know very little about these functionaries, a pattern of usage is becoming clear which extends beyond just one locale. It would be difficult to explain these cases away as references to real brothers who happened to be fellow-priests, as Poland seems aware.[28] The term brother could be used of fellow-functionaries as a term of belonging in the setting of sanctuaries, as was also the case in Egypt as I discuss below.

Other evidence is forthcoming from Asia Minor, the Aegean, and Greece, this time involving unofficial associations. A monument dedicated to "God Most High" (Theos Hypsistos) at Sinope in Pontus, which need not be considered Judean in any way, refers to the group as "the vowing brothers (οἱ ἀδελφοὶ εὐξάμενοι)."[29] Although less than certain, it is quite possible that the four named men on a grave (ἡρῷον) from the vicinity of Iasos (north of Halicarnassos) who refer to themselves as "the brotherly-loving and unwavering male shippers of Phileros" (τῶν Φιλέρωτος φι|λαδέλφων ἀνδρων ναυκλήρων ἀπλανήτων) may not literally be brothers, but rather members of a guild under the leadership of Phileros.[30] It is worth noting that there are comparable, figurative uses of "brotherly love" or "familial affection" (φιλάδελφοι) in connection with fellow-members of an association at Latium (Italy) devoted to Hygeia (*IG* XIV 902a, p. 694 [addenda]) and among members of Judean groups in Egypt, Rome, and, possibly, Syria.[31] Quite well known are Paul's and 1 Peter's use of "brotherly / sisterly love" (φιλαδελφία) terminology of the relationship

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27. *IGLAM* 503 a and b; Newton and Pullan 1862–63, 2.704–5, no. 12c; cf. Bean and Cook 1955, 103, no. 17; *IAsMinLyk* I 1. These and other "victory" inscriptions which have been found at Halikarnassos, Mylasa, Didyma, and Kos are sometimes etched (almost as graffiti) onto preexisting monuments (cf. *IMylasa* 541–564). Unfounded is the suggestion of G. Cousin and Ch. Diehl (followed uncritically by F. H. Marshall in the notes to *GIBM* IV 920 and 934) that all of the victory inscriptions, especially those that mention "brothers," are Christian epitaphs or remembrances referring to victory through martyrdom (Cousin and Diehl 1890, 114–18, no. 18). See *IKos* 65 and 69–72, where E. L. Hicks and W. R. Paton (1891) reject the previous view and more reasonably suggest that these inscriptions refer to victory in competitions (cf. *IKos* 65 and *IMylasa* 554, which involve ephebes). It is worth mentioning the possibility that some of these are dedications by priests within guilds of athletes or performers, where "priest" was a common title for a cultic functionary (see the discussion of athletic guilds further below).

28. Poland prefers to dismiss these apparent cases of pagan "brother priests" by categorizing the inscriptions as Christian, citing no evidence in support (Poland 1909, 55 n. ***); he is likely depending on the problematic suggestion of Cousin and Diehl (see previous note). Secondarily, he suggests that if they are pagan, then these are real brothers.

29. Doublet 1889, 303–4, no. 7; cf. Ustinova 1999, 185–86. It is unsatisfactory to reject this case with a claim that this is Judean syncretism (and therefore not Greek), as does Bömer 1981 [1958–63], 173. Poland mentions this case but suggests that these are probably real brothers (Poland 1909, 55).

30. Cousin and Deschamps 1894, 21, no. 11. On the use of φιλάδελφοι, -αι among blood relatives see *NewDocs* II 80 and III 74; *MAMA* VIII 132, line 13; *IBithynia* III 2 (= *IKlaudiupolis* 75), 7 and 8.

31. For likely figurative Judean uses, see *IEgJud* 114 (near Heliopolis; first cent. BCE or first cent.

among members of congregations, as when Paul exhorts followers of Jesus at Rome to demonstrate "heart-felt affections toward one another with brotherly love" (τῇ φιλαδελφίᾳ εἰς ἀλλήλους φιλόστοργοι) (Rom 12:10).[32]

In connection with such means of expressing ties with fellow members of a group, it is important to point out another clear case from Asia Minor in which similar terms of familial closeness are used among members of an association, even though brother language happens not to be evident. In an epitaph from Tlos in Lycia, the members of a "society" (θίασος) honour a deceased member, setting up the grave stone "on account of" their "heart-felt affection" (φιλοστοργία) for the deceased society-member.[33] With regard to the root for love or affection (φιλ-), in chapter 1 I discussed the fact that the term "dear ones" or "friends" (οἱ φίλοι) was a common means of expressing positive connections with others within associations, particularly in Asia Minor. And we will soon encounter instances where "brothers" and "friends" are used almost interchangeably as terms of belonging within associations in Egypt.

There are other incidental references from around the Aegean that attest to the use of fictive sibling language within associations. In discussing the associations of late Hellenistic Rhodes, P. M. Fraser draws attention to two cases where sibling language is likely used of fellow-members of immigrant or ethnic associations.[34] The clearer of the two involves a funerary dedication for a man and a woman who are also termed "heroized siblings" (ἀδελφῶν ἡρώων). As Fraser points out, this is a clear case where the basic meaning of "blood siblings" is not possible. He argues that although the meaning of "spouse" as in Egyptian papyri remains a possibility, it seems "more plausible to regard both parties, male and female, who are foreigners, as 'brothers' in the sense of fellow members of a koinon [association]."[35]

In a similar vein, Onno van Nijf, who in other respects downplays the frequency of brother-language, nonetheless discusses a third-century inscription from Thessalonica in Macedonia. This involves a collective tomb of an association with individually allotted niches: "For Tyche. I have made this niche in commemoration of my own partner out of joint efforts. If one of my brothers dares to open this niche, he shall pay . . ." (*IG* X.2.1 824). Interestingly enough, as van Nijf argues, here one sees fictive sibling language of belonging alongside a concern to preserve this particular niche from further use by the very same fellow-members of the association. "Brotherhood apparently failed to prevent some brethren from reopening niches to add the remains of another deceased person, or even to remove the remains of the lawful occupant."[36]

There are also some surviving instances from Greece and elsewhere in which those of

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CE), *IEurJud* II 528 (Rome), and *IJO* III Syr70 (with David Noy's notes; cf. 2 Macc 15:14). Cf. *IEgJud* 86, *IEurJud* II 171 (Rome; third-fourth cent. CE) (either literal or fictive). Also see 1 Pet 3:8.

32. Cf. 1 Thess 4:9; 1 Pet 1:22 and 3:8; Heb 13:1; 2 Pet 1:7.

33. ὁ θίασος ἐπὶ Μάσᾳ τῷ θ[ια]σείτᾳ | φιλοστοργίας ἕνεκε[ν] (*TAM* II 640). On the meaning of φιλοστοργία ("affection" or "heartfelt love," as Horsley puts it in one case), see Robert 1965, 38–42, and, more extensively, Horsley in *NewDocs* II 80, III 11, and IV 33 (cf. Rom 12:10). Horsley had not yet encountered this case, it seems.

34. Fraser 1977, 74, 78, 164–65 nn. 430–37. Cf. *NewDocs* II 14.

35. Fraser 1977, 74.

36. Van Nijf 1997, 46 (with trans).

a common occupation or common civic position, sometimes members of an ongoing guild or organization, address one another as "brother" in a figurative sense. A third-century decree from Chalcis in Euboia (Greece) involves an important civic board (συνέδριον) and the people (δῆμος). In response to a temple-warden's (Aurelius Hermodoros's) generous benefactions to the sanctuary, Amyntas and Ulpius Pamphilos propose that Hermodoros's descendants be honoured with continuous possession of this temple-wardenship (likely of Tyche). The inscription happens to preserve the statement of the clerk of the board who seeks a vote on whether the members of the board agree to grant these honours "according to all of your intentions and the proposal of the brother Pamphilos" (*SIG*[3] 898 = *IG* XII.9 906, lines 18–20).[37] Here a fellow-member of the organization is clearly addressed as "brother" in an incidental manner, which suggests that this was normal practice in this setting. There are several other instances of persons of a common occupation (sometimes, though not always, involving membership in a guild) referring to one another (in Greek) as "brother," including a rhetor at Baeterrae in Gaul who called another "the brother rhetor" (*IG* XIV 2516), athletes at Rome (*IGUR* 246), and several different professionals in Egypt, which I discuss below, including undertakers and athletes.[38] Arzt-Grabner also deals with a number of cases in papyri involving officials or business partners who address one another as "brother."[39]

Turning north of Greece and Asia Minor, fictive sibling language occurs in the associations of the Bosporus region on the northern coast of the Black Sea, in what is now southern Ukraine and southern Russia.[40] Greek inscriptions from Tanais attest to numerous associations devoted to "God Most High" (Theos Hypsistos) in the first three centuries (*CIRB* 1260–88). Membership consisted of men only who were drawn from the mixed Greek and Iranian (Sarmatian) populations of this community. The groups used several self-designations, some calling themselves "the synod which is gathered around Theos Hypsistos," or "the synod which is gathered around the priest."[41] These particular inscriptions happen not to make any reference to any informal, fraternal language of belonging that was used among members. But several inscriptions do indicate that an important leader within many of these groups held the title of "father of the synod" (*CIRB* 1263, 1277, 1282, 1288).

Particularly significant here are four inscriptions from Tanais (dating to the first decades of the third century) which pertain to an association that took on fictive sibling language as an *official title* for the group over several decades, calling themselves "the adopted brothers worshiping Theos Hypsistos' (ἰσοποιητοὶ ἀδελφοὶ σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον; *CIRB* 1281, 1283, 1285, 1286; ca. 212–240 CE). In a fifth inscription, the editors have restored the title of another association as the "society of brothers" (θίησ[ος τῶν ἀ]δελ[φῶν] [*sic*]; *CIRB* 1284). The idea that we are here witnessing the development of fraternal language from

37. Bömer attributes this case to "Roman influence" without explanation (Bömer 1981 [1958–63], 172). Cf. *PTebtunis* I 12 (118 BCE), 19 (114 BCE), and 55 (late second cent. BCE); cf. Moulton and Milligan 1952, 9; Arzt-Grabner 2002, 188 n. 13.

38. Cf. Fraser 1977, 164 n. 433.

39. Arzt-Grabner 2002, 189–92, 195–99.

40. See Ustinova 1999, 183–96.

41. *CIRB* 1278, 1279, 1280, 1282, for the former; *CIRB* 1260, 1262, 1263, 1264, 1277, 1287, 1288, for the latter.

informal usage among members of associations into a title, and that brother language was likely common in these and other groups from the region at earlier points, is further suggested by epitaphs from Iluraton (mid-second century) and Panticipaion (early third century). Members in these two associations, at least, had been using the informal address of "brother" but had not come to take on this fraternal language as a group title. In each case, the membership of a "synod" honours a deceased fellow with a memorial and happens to express in stone its positive feelings for the lost member by calling him "its own brother" (τὸν ἴδιον ἀδελφόν; *CIRB* 104, 967).[42] In the latter group at Panticipaion, familial language was also used of a leader, who was known as "father of the synod."

Since Emil Schürer's study of the Bosporan Hypsistos inscriptions in 1897, it has been common for certain scholars to suggest Judean influence here (especially at Tanais), but this is highly problematic.[43] Many follow Schürer in holding the view that these were associations of gentiles or "god-fearers" honouring the Judean god as Theos Hypsistos, partly because of the coincidence of Acts-like language for gentile sympathizers here and because of evidence from elsewhere for the description of the Judean God as "god most high," following language in the Septuagint (a Greek translation of the Hebrew Bible from the third century BCE). However, Yulia Ustinova's exhaustive study of the Bosporan evidence for associations and for the worship of gods with the epithet Hypsistos convincingly demonstrates the weaknesses of Schürer's proposal and shows that these groups at Tanais, in particular, are best understood as associations devoted to a Hellenized, Iranian deity, with no Judean connection involved.[44]

The case of associations in the Bosporus region draws attention to another facet of familial expressions of identity in the Greek East which should be noticed before going on to brother language within associations in Egypt and in the mysteries. There are numerous examples of "father of the synod" in associations of this region, for instance, and we have seen that, in at least one case from Panticipaion, "father" is used within a group that also (informally) employs the term "brothers" for members (*CIRB* 104).[45] Similarly, as I discuss below, a group of initiates in the mysteries in Egypt referred to its leader as "father" and fellow-initiates also called one another "brothers," and a guild of athletes at Rome likewise used both "father" for a leader and "brother" among members.

As I discuss at length in the next chapter, there are many other times when, although we do not necessarily witness sibling terminology specifically, we do clearly encounter other familial or parental language to express connections or belonging in associations. There is, in fact, strong evidence pointing to the importance of such metaphorical parental and parent–child language in Greek cities generally and within local associations in these

42. Cf. Ustinova 1999, 188, 200.

43. Schürer 1897, 200–25; cf. Goodenough 1956–57. For the revival of Schürer's theory, see Levinskaya 1996, 111, 244–45; Mitchell 1999, 116–17.

44. See Ustinova 1999, 203–39. Cf. Noy, Panayotov, and Bloedhorn 2004, 323, who exclude this Tanais evidence from their collection of Judean inscriptions. While there were small Judean communities at Panticapaion, Gorgippia, and Phanagoria in the Bosporus region, there is no evidence for Judeans several hundred kilometers away at Tanais.

45. Out of thirty attested associations at Panticipaion (*CIRB* 75–108), eight use the title: *CIRB* 77 (second-third cent. CE), 96 (second cent. CE), 98 (214 CE), 99 (221 CE), 100, 103 (third cent. CE), 104 (third cent. CE), 105 (third cent. CE).

cities of Asia Minor, Greece, Thracia, and other regions in the first three centuries. Such evidence highlights the significance of familial terms of identification in many groups and contexts beyond Christianity. In some cases when members of an association regularly referred to their leader as "mother," "father," or even "papa," I would suggest, they were alluding to the same sort of connections and identifications within the group that the term "brothers" or "sisters" would evoke.

Egypt and Initiates in the Mysteries

Evidence from Hellenistic and Roman Egypt also strongly suggests that it would be problematic to argue that fictive familial language was insignificant within associations or that it was merely a late development (from Roman, western influence) within association life in the East. As with epigraphic evidence from other parts of the eastern Mediterranean, inscriptions from Egypt provide only momentary glimpses of the use of sibling language within associations and other cultic settings. For this region, however, the shortcomings of epigraphic evidence are somewhat counterbalanced by the survival of letters and other documents on papyri, the ancient equivalent of paper (as a result of the dry Egyptian climate). Not surprisingly, as with our evidence for Pauline and other Christian groups, it is within the context of personal address in letters that the use of fictive kinship language becomes more visible.

Papyri reveal that kinship terminology was used in a variety of ways within letters in the Hellenistic and Roman periods, including the use of the terms "brother" or "sister" as titles among royalty, as a designation of a spouse, and as a term of affection among close friends.[46] Arzt-Grabner's study collects together a number of clear cases from papyri (dating from the second century BCE to the third century CE) in which those who are not literally related address officials, friends, or business partners as "brothers."[47] Yet there are also other cases of this practice involving co-workers or co-devotees of a deity or deities who were active within the same sanctuaries or who belonged to associations or other organizations.[48]

As early as the second century of the Hellenistic era, we have instances in which persons belonging to a common profession, organization, and/or circle of devotees express connections with their fellows by using fictive kinship terminology. Though it is possible that two papyri regarding associations of embalmers (χοαχύται) at Thebes (late second century) involve actual family members addressed as "siblings," several scholars following

46. Cf. *NewDocs* I 17; *NewDocs* IV 15; *BGU* IV 1209.

47. Arzt-Grabner 2002. Officials: *BGU* VIII 1755, 1770, 1788 (60s BCE); *SB* XVI 12835 (10 CE). Friends: *BGU* VIII 1874 (first cent. BCE); *POxy* XVII 2148; *SB* V 7661; *POxy* XLII 3057 (first-second cent. CE); *SB* XIV 11644 (first-second cent. CE). Business partners: *BGU* I 248–49, II 531, 594–95, 597 (70s CE); *BGU* XVI 2607 (15 BCE); *POxy* LV 3808 (first-second cent. CE); *OClaud* I 158 (110 CE) and II 226 (mid-second cent. CE).

48. For Christian papyri using "beloved brother" as an address see the list in *NewDocs* IV 124. Plutarch shows an awareness of the common fictive use of sibling language within the context of friendships when he speaks against a man "who addresses his companion (ἑταῖρος) as brother in salutations and letters, but does not care even to walk with his own brother" (*De frat. amor.* 479D).

Amedeo Peyron have argued that in some of these cases "brothers" is more likely used of members in a guild that included nonfamily members.[49] More certain is the case in which the head of a military association, the high-priest, is addressed as "brother" in a first century BCE letter (*BGU* VIII 1770; 64/3 BCE).[50]

The so-called Sarapeum correspondence from Memphis in Egypt provides snap-shots of relations among those active within the sanctuaries of the gods Sarapis and Anubis in the second century BCE (see *UPZ* volume 1 for the papyri). Memphis was located on the west bank of the Nile, about 245 km south of Alexandria, or 20 km south of Cairo. Many letters on papyri have survived concerning these closely associated sanctuaries which were on the edge of town, letters that shed light on functionaries and administration, as well as the importance of the "detainees" (κάτοχοι), who were (voluntarily) being "held fast" or "detained" (κατέχω; cf. παρακατέχω) in the service of Sarapis.[51] Most of the correspondence came into the possession of one Ptolemaios, from Macedonia, who was a "detainee" in the Sarapeum for at least twenty years (from 172–152 BCE or beyond). Several of the letters pertain to Ptolemaios's friends, fellow-devotees, and family, including his actual brothers, Sarapion, Hippalos, and Apollonios (the younger).

Long ago, both Brunet de Presle and Walter Otto pointed to the frequency of "brother" as a title of address in the Sarapeum papyri and suggested that brother terminology was used among those who were "detainees" of Sarapis, who formed an association within the Sarapeum at Memphis.[52] Several others have likewise suggested that "detainees," in particular, formed a closely connected "brotherhood," and some of these scholars suggest a parallelism with Christian notions of a brotherhood.[53] However, Ulrich Wilcken challenges the suggestion of widespread sibling language among the "detainees."[54] Wilcken points out that many of the fictive instances of "brother" in the Sarapeum papyri do not certainly involve members of the "detainees" addressing one another as "brother," and he goes as far as to state that the titles "brother" and "father" have "no religious meaning" in this papyri collection.[55]

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49. See *UPZ* II 162 = *PTor* 1, column 1, lines 11 and 19–20, and column 6, lines 33–34 (116 BCE); *UPZ* II 180a = *PParis* 5 column 2, line 5 (114 BCE). Early on, Peyron (1827, 68–69), who was aware of the family trees of embalmers, argued that the reference (in *PTor* 1, line 19–20) to "these brothers who offer services in the cemeteries," as well as the "brothers" mentioned in column 1, line 11, and column 6, lines 33–34, involve men that were not all related as brothers, and that the term is here used of fellow-members of a guild (on the family trees, see Pestman 1993, 14–27). Ziebarth (1896, 100–101), Walter Otto (1975 [1905–8], 1.104 n. 2), and San Nicolo (1972, 33–34 n. 4) agree with Peyron's evaluation (cf. Moulton and Milligan 1952, 9).

50. Cf. Arzt-Grabner 2002, 190; San Nicolo 1972, 1.198–200.

51. *UPZ* I 8 = *PLond* I 44, lines 18–19, speaks of a κάτοχος as "one of the therapeutists who are held fast by Sarapis." Also see *IPriene* 195 (line 28) and *ISmyrna* 725 (= *CIG* 3163) for a similar use of being "held fast" by Sarapis. For groups of "therapeutists" devoted to Serapis and/or Isis see *IDelos* 2077, 2080–81 (second-first cent. BCE); *SIRIS* 318–19 (Kyzikos; first cent. CE); *IMagnSip* 15 (= *SIRIS* 307; second cent. BCE and second cent. CE); *IPergamon* 338 (= *SIRIS* 314).

52. See Brunet de Presle's notes to *PParis* 42 (= *UPZ* I 64), in Letronne, de Presle, and Egger 1865, 308; Otto 1975 [1905–8], 1.124 n. 3 (cf. p. 1.119 n. 1).

53. Cf. Deissmann 1901, 87–88; Milligan 1969 [1910], 22; Moulton and Milligan 1952, 9; Liddell and Scott 1940, 20.

54. Wilcken in the notes to *UPZ* I 64, p. 319.

55. Apollonios on several occasions addresses his brother, Ptolemaios, as "father" in a show

Although Wilcken is right that the term "brother" in the Sarapeum papyri is not limited to members of an association, he goes too far in dismissing the potential cultic and social meanings of this term as an expression of attachment among those who were active or served within the sanctuaries of Anubis and Sarapis: that is, fellow-devotees or fellow-functionaries, though not necessarily members of an association. Clearly, there is a relatively high occurrence of "brother" as a fictive form of address in the Serapeum papyri as compared to papyri generally. In several cases, there are indications that the terminology is used among those who feel a sense of solidarity within a circle of friends or in an organization that served the gods within the sanctuaries (*UPZ* I 61, 62, 64, 69, 71, 72, 109). Thus, for instance, Barkaios, an overseer of the guards at the Anubis sanctuary, addresses the younger Apollonios, a guard, as "brother" (*UPZ* I 64 = *PParis* 42; 156 BCE).[56] Barkaios writes to his subordinate, though fellow, functionary in the service of Anubis in order to thank him for his service in reporting prison escapes. Similarly, in another letter the younger Apollonios addresses as "brother" the elder Apollonios, who was then "leader and superintendent of the Anubieum" (*UPZ* I 69 = *PParis* 45; 152 BCE). The younger Apollonios's close ties with this leader in the sanctuary of Anubis are further confirmed by the younger Apollonios's letter to Ptolemaios, at about this time, in which the younger Apollonios expresses concern about the well-being of both his actual brother and this elder Apollonios (*UPZ* I 68; 152 BCE). Finally, in the same year, the elder Apollonios addresses as "brother" Ptolemaios, writing to this "detainee" of Sarapis concerning the younger Apollonios (*UPZ* I 71 = *PParis* 46; 152 BCE).

It is worth mentioning the possibility that some of these correspondents of the younger Apollonios and Ptolemaios were themselves *previously* among the "detainees" in the Sarapeum, as was Apollonios in the summer of 158 BCE alongside his actual brother Ptolemaios, who was held fast for over twenty years. Yet even without this scenario, these letters clearly suggest that we should not so quickly disregard the possible social and cultic meaning of "brother" to express close ties among these men who were consistently involved in the sanctuaries in a functional role and, likely, as devotees of the gods (Sarapis, Anubis, and others) whom they served together.

Other evidence suggests that fictive sibling terminology was also used among initiates in mysteries who sometimes formed associations in Egypt and elsewhere. This despite the fact that initiations and the shared experiences among initiates were highly secretive, and our sources tend to respect this secrecy. As I discuss in the next chapter, parental language ("mother" or "father") was used of leaders within associations devoted to the mysteries of Dionysos, the Great Mother, Sarapis, and others, and the term "papa" was used of functionaries within a group of initiates of Dionysos. Furthermore, a partially damaged third-century CE papyrus from Oxyrhynchos (about 160 km south-southwest of Cairo) contains an oath pertaining to initiation into mysteries. The man pronouncing the oath happens to mention both the leader of the group, "father Sarapion," and his fellow-initiates,

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of respect (cf. *UPZ* I 65, 68, 70, 93). Apollonios was not a "detainee" at the time, however, as was Ptolemaios.

56. For a translation of this letter see White 1986, 72–73, no. 39.

the "brothers," perhaps "mystical brothers" (μυστικο]ὺς ἀδελφούς).[57] Similarly, in the second and third centuries, those who were initiated into associations in Italy and the West devoted to Jupiter Dolichenus (Syrian Ba'al), Mithras, and others used both fraternal and paternal language (*fratres*, *pater* in Latin) within the group, but in these particular cases we are witnessing primarily Roman phenomena.[58]

Other incidental references to fictive sibling language used among initiates in the Greek mysteries can be cited, some from an earlier era. Although Walter Burkert downplays the notion of community feelings among initiates, he nonetheless acknowledges the use of "brother" among those initiated into the mysteries of Demeter and Kore at Eleusis, near Athens.[59] Thus, for instance, Plato speaks of two men as "brothers" because of their strong friendship arising from their shared participation in both stages ("initiation" and "viewing") of initiation at Eleusis (ξενίξειν τε καὶ μυεῖν καὶ ἐποπτεύειν πραγματεύονται).[60] Several centuries later, Sopatros (Sopater) the rhetor reflects continued use of the term "brother" among those being initiated at Eleusis specifically.[61]

Analogous expressions drawing on the model of the mysteries further confirm this picture. In his second-century treatise on astrology, Vetius Valens addresses the "initiate" in the secrets of astrology as follows: "I entreat you, most honorable brother of mine, along with the others who are initiated . . ." (ὀρκίζω σε, ἀδελφή μου τιμιώτατε, καί τοῦς μυσταγωγουμένους; *Anthology* 4.11.11; ca. 170 CE). The magical papyri also happen to reflect this practice when, in a prayer, the speaker is directed to refer to fellow-devotees in the following manner: "Hail to those to whom the greeting is given with blessing, to brothers and sisters, to holy men and holy women."[62]

Turning from initiates to other associations in Roman Egypt, Robert W. Daniel devotes some attention to the practice of familial address within occupational associations, discussing several papyri from the second and third centuries CE.[63] Several involve associations of athletes (see the bronze statue of an athlete in figure 8). In one third-century letter from Antinoopolis (about 280 km south of Cairo), the leader (ξυστάρχης) of an athletic association writes to one Andronikos, who is addressed as "brother" both in the external address

57. *PSI* X 1162 as read by Wilcken 1932, 257–59.

58. Devotees of Dolichenus at Rome called their priest "father of the candidates" (*pater candidatorum*) and fellow-initiates "brothers" (*fratres*; cf. Hörig und Schwertheim 1987, nos. 274, 373, 375, 376, 381 [second-third cent. CE]; Ebel 2004, 205–7). On the use of "father" (*pater*) or "father of the mysteries" (*pater sacrorum*) in the mysteries of Mithras, see *CIL* III 3384, 3415, 3959, 4041; *CIMRM* 623–24; Tertullian *Apol.* 8. On the "Arval brothers" (*fratres arvales*) in Rome, see Beard, North, and Price 1998, 1:194–96. Cf. Bömer 1981 [1958–63], 176–78; *CIL* VI 467; *CIL* VI 2233; Schelkle 1954, 633; Waltzing 1895–1900, 1.329–30 n. 3.

59. Burkert 1987, 45, 149, n. 77.

60. Plato *Epistles* 333d-e; cf. Plutarch *Dion.* 54.1; Andocides 1.132.

61. *Division of Questions* 339 in Walz 1843, 123 (fourth cent. CE).

62. Trans. by Grese in Betz 1992, 60 (*PGM* IV 1135; ca. 300 CE). Similarly, a member of a pagan circle worshiping Hermes Trismegistus in the fourth century CE (named Theophanes) uses the term "beloved brother" of his fellows (see S. R. Llewelyn's comments in *NewDocs* VI 25, on p. 175; cf. *Corpus Hermetica* 1.32).

63. Daniel 1979, 37–46.

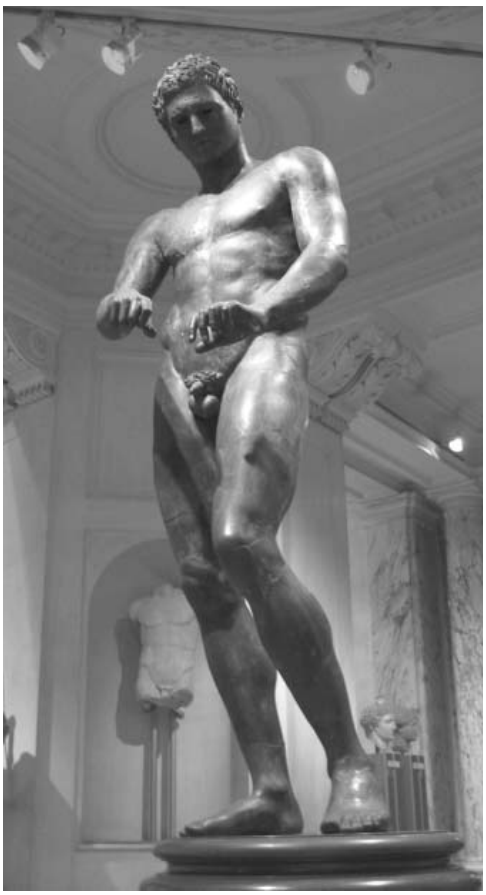

Figure 8. Bronze statue of an athlete scraping oil from his body in connection with a competition, now in the Ephesos Museum, Vienna (Roman copy of a Greek original from ca. 320 BCE)

(verso) and in the text of the letter (*PRyl* IV 604, lines 32–33, as reedited by Daniel).[64] More importantly, all of the names mentioned, no less than four other men (some of whom are also termed "friend" [φίλος]), are likewise designated "brother" in the body of the letter: brother Eutolmios (line 13), brother Heraiskos (15), brother Apynchis (28), and brother Theodosios (34). Daniel convincingly shows that these are fellow-members of an athletic association, not real siblings, being addressed as brothers.[65] Further strengthening this interpretation is another parallel case from Oxyrhynchos. This letter was written from one leader of an athletic guild to another, who is addressed as a "brother." Two others are likewise called "brother" in the body of the letter, which concerns the affairs of a guild of athletes (*PSI* III 236; third century CE).

There is another important, though late, example of such use of familial language

64. The term ἡγεμών is attested in associations and organizations elsewhere: e.g., *IG* II.2 1993–1995 (Athens; ca. 80 CE); *IGR* I 787 (Baccheion of Asians in Thracia).

65. Cf. *OGIS* 189 (89 or 57 BCE, involving a gymnastic organization at Philai); San Nicolo 1972, 1.33–34 n. 4.

Figure 9. Bronze lamp depicting Herakles (patron deity of athletes) fighting a centaur, now in the Ephesos Museum, Vienna (ca. 150–100 BCE)

within a well-established professional guild of athletes at Rome, which is not discussed by Daniel but is worth mentioning here. The "sacred, athletic, wandering, world-wide association," which was devoted to the god Herakles (see a photo of this god in figure 9), had a significantly long history. Originally based in Asia Minor (probably at Ephesos), the headquarters of this guild (which also had local branches at various locations in the East) was moved to Rome some time in the second century, probably around 143 CE.[66] A Greek inscription from the time of Constantine reveals that, at least by this time and likely earlier as well, the members of this "world-wide" organization expressed positive connections with fellow-members using familial metaphors. Well-respected members are repeatedly called "our brother" (τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ ἡμῶν) in the inscription and the high priest of the guild is called "our father" (τοῦ πατρός ἡμῶν) (*IGUR* 246 = *IG* XIV 956B, lines 11, 12, 14). Such evidence from both Egypt and Rome suggests that the practice of using fictive kinship language within groups of athletes and other guilds may have been more widespread than our limited sources would initially suggest.

Finally, Daniel discusses a second-century papyrus from Ptolemais Hermou in the

66. See Pleket 1973, 197–227, on *IGUR* 235–48. Cf. *IEph* 1084, 1089, 1098.

Fayum region of Egypt (about 120 km south of Cairo) that almost certainly involves undertakers (νεκροτάφοι), the successors of our embalmers of the Ptolemaic period, so to speak.[67] These undertakers of the Roman period were formed into guilds, and it is worth mentioning that this occupation, which involved the transportation, embalming, and burial of the dead, was taken on by both men and women.[68] The letter in question is written from Papsaus to Asklas, who is addressed as both "friend" on the outside address and as "brother" in the letter opening (*PPetaus* 28). In light of the evidence discussed thus far, Daniel seems right in arguing that these are not merely "conventional, meaningless terms of address," but rather reflections of the everyday terminology used among members of these (and other) guilds.[69] According to the body of the letter, Papsaus was in trouble and seeking the help of his fellow-undertaker. Papsaus had sent to Asklas the body of a Roman legionary to be sent on to its final destination, but for some reason the body had not reached its final destination. As a result Papsaus was faced with possible disciplinary action by a leader (ἡγεμών) which, as Daniel shows, was most likely the guild president (not a Roman military officer or the provincial prefect in this case). Although partly to blame, here a fellow guild member, as "brother" and "friend," was sought for help.

Conclusion

Owing to the nature of our sources, we cannot be sure that fictive sibling language was widespread within associations or that it had the same meaning that "brothers" developed within certain groups of Jesus-followers, such as those associated with Paul. Yet what is clear is that many scholars have underestimated the evidence and the significance of fictive kinship language as a means of expressing belonging within associations and organizations of various kinds (ethnic, occupational, gymnastic, civic, cultic, and other groups). Inscriptions from Greece, Asia Minor, and Greek cities of the Danube and Bosporus, as well as papyri from Egypt, suggest that familial language was used within small-group settings in reference to fellow-members as "brothers" or (less often) "sisters."

The happenstance nature of evidence from epigraphy would suggest that these are momentary snap-shots of what was likely common usage within some other associations about which we happen to know less. In paying more attention to surviving materials, we begin to see common ground among some associations, synagogues, and congregations in the expression of belonging and group identity. This notwithstanding the fact that it is extremely difficult to measure the relative importance or depth of meaning attached to such familial language in specific instances.

What sorts of social relations and obligations accompanied the metaphorical use of sibling language within associations? It is important to remember that ancient values and social relations would not be the same as our modern notions of family or sibling relations. Although there is little direct information about the meanings which members of

67. Cf. Otto 1975 [1905–8], 1.108–10, 2.180 n. 1. On various kinds of occupations and guilds relating to burial, see Youtie 1940, 650–57.

68. See San Nicolo 1972, 97–100.

69. Daniel 1979, 41.

associations attached to calling a fellow-member brother, we can nonetheless make some inferences from literary discussions of familial relations. These discussions help to clarify the real-life experiences and expectations that would give meaning to the metaphor or analogy.

Although presenting ideals of family relations from a philosophical perspective, for instance, Plutarch's discussion *On Brotherly Love* (early second cent. CE) nonetheless reflects commonly held views that would inform fictive uses of these terms of relation in the Greek world, one would expect.[70] For Plutarch and others the ideal sibling relation is marked by "goodwill" (εὔνοια; Plutarch *De frat. amor.* 481C), and brothers are "united in their emotions and actions" (*De frat. amor.* 480C).[71] Foremost is the ideal of solidarity and identification. "Friendship" (φιλία) is one of the strongest analogies that Plutarch can evoke in explaining (in a Platonic manner) the nature of relations among brothers and between parents and children: "For most friendships are in reality shadows, imitations, and images of that first friendship which nature implanted in children toward parents and in brothers toward brothers" (*De frat. amor.* 479C-D). Conversely, the term "brothers" was a natural way of expressing close social relations among friends in an association.

For Plutarch and others in antiquity there is a hierarchy of honour (τιμή, δόξα) that should be the basis of familial and other relations. Brothers come before friends: "even if we feel an equal affection for a friend, we should always be careful to reserve for a brother the first place . . . whenever we deal with occasions which in the eyes of the public give distinction and tend to confer honour" (δόξαν) (*De frat. amor.* 491B). Beyond this, nature and law "have assigned to parents, after gods, first and greatest honour" (τιμὴν) (*De frat. amor.* 479F).

These Greco-Roman family ideals of solidarity, goodwill, affection, friendship, protection, glory, and honour would be the sorts of values that would come to the minds of those who drew on the analogy of family relationships to express connections with other members of the group, I would suggest. When a member of a guild called a fellow "brother" that member was (at times) expressing in down-to-earth terms relations of solidarity, affection, or friendship, such that the association may have been a second home. In the next chapter, I deal with further evidence regarding such familial forms of relation in associations, including those that involve "mothers" and "fathers."

70. Cf. Aasgaard 2004, chapter 6.

71. Trans. Hembold 1927–69 (LCL)

4

"Mothers" and "Fathers" in Associations and Synagogues

Introduction

As I demonstrated in the previous chapter, familial language of belonging could play an important role in internal definitions of identity among members of certain groups. In some cases, an association could to a certain extent be considered a fictive family. This was true not only within Pauline or other Christian congregations, but also within associations where fictive sibling language was used among fellow-members.

That chapter also showed that there are clear problems with interpreting the Christian use of family language as unique, or as a sign of the sectarian or socially distinguished status of these groups. In fact, you could argue that those Jesus-followers who did engage in this practice were adopting and adapting common modes of identity expression from society more broadly. These cultural minority groups were, in certain respects, mirroring society and mirroring associations within that society that looked to the family as a model of community. Familial language, with its accompanying values of honour, solidarity, and affection, served to strengthen bonds within the group and could at times become part of a group's public presentation of itself.

In this chapter, I turn to further evidence for the use of familial terminology in associations, including Judean (Jewish) synagogues. Moreover, the use of parental language within synagogues further demonstrates the ways in which these ethnic associations or cultural minority groups could assimilate widespread means of expressing group identity from the majority culture.

The use of parental metaphors in associations has drawn limited attention within two scholarly circles. On the one hand, those who study Judean synagogues in the diaspora have engaged in some debate regarding the titles "mother of the synagogue" and "father of the synagogue." The focus here has often been on whether or not the title also entailed some functional leadership role within these gatherings.[1] On the other hand, classicists and ancient historians (especially around the turn of the twentieth century) have touched

1. For earlier discussions see, for instance, Schürer 1897, 29–32; Leon 1995 [1960], 186–88; Hengel 1966, 145–83. For a summary of the scholarly debate up to 1982, see Brooten 1982, 57–72. Most recently, see Levine 2000, 404–6.

upon the use of "father" or "mother" as an honorary designation in connection with guilds and associations. Franz Poland (1909), for instance, attempted to deal with the question of whether or not the practice was significant in the Greek East, and came to a negative conclusion.[2] Yet these two scholarly interests have not met in a substantial comparative study of fictive parental language in connection with synagogues and associations. Such a comparison is especially fitting in light of recent scholarship's emphasis on the ways in which Judean synagogues were, in important respects, considered associations.[3]

Furthermore, rarely have scholars in either of the two fields fully explored the social and cultural framework of this usage in the Greek-speaking, eastern Mediterranean and in immigrant Greek-speaking settings in the West. Focusing on this material, I argue that parental metaphors were more widespread in the cities of the eastern, Greek-speaking provinces of the Roman Empire than often acknowledged. This includes substantial evidence regarding associations specifically, which suggests that such terminology was an important way of expressing honour, social hierarchy, and/or belonging within the group.

Although questions of cultural influence are difficult to assess, a careful look at the evidence suggests that we cannot explain many cases in Greek inscriptions with a claim of western influence. In fact, it seems likely that the initial cultural influence was the other way around, from Greek to Roman. Moreover, the practice among synagogues can be better understood in light of the practice within the Greek cities and associations. Attention to this evidence for associations provides a new vantage point on the mothers and fathers of the synagogues, including honorific and functional dimensions associated with parental designations.

Parental Terminology in Judean Synagogues

It is somewhat surprising that scholars who focus on Judean uses of the titles "mother of the synagogue" and "father of the synagogue" do not give sufficient attention to non-Judean instances within associations or within the Greek cities generally.[4] This may be due, in part, to the notion that, as Lee I. Levine puts it, "the term "father" as a title of honour and respect has deep roots in ancient Judaism," which is indeed true in certain respects.[5] For instance, there are hints that some groups in Judea, such as the Dead Sea community, may have used parental titles for those in positions of authority.[6] Yet instead of also exploring Greco-Roman contexts, the focus of debate with regard to synagogues often pertains

2. Poland 1909, 371–72; cf. Foucart 1873, 242; Liebenam 1890, 218 n. 2; Waltzing 1895–1900, 3.446–49. For recent studies that deal with these titles in the Roman *collegia* of the West, see, for instance, Perry 1999, 178–92; Liu 2004, 320–21.

3. See Richardson 1996, 90–109; Richardson 2004, 111–34, 187–224; Baumgarten 1998, 93–111; Runesson 2001. Cf. Harland 2003a, 177–264.

4. E.g., Leon 1995 [1960], 186–88; Hengel 1966, 176–81; Brooten 1982, 57–72; Lassen 1992, 257–61; Levine 2000, 404. Do, however, see G. H. R. Horsley's comments in *NewDocs* IV 127, p. 260. Cf. Noy 1993–95, 77–78.

5. Levine 2000, 404; cf. Noy 1993–95, 77.

6. See the *Damascus Document*'s references to "mothers" and "fathers" (4Q270 7 I 13–15, as interpreted by Crawford 2003, 177–91 and Bernstein 2004).

to the internal question of whether the titles were honorific or functional in terms of real-life leadership, particularly with respect to women's leadership. Bernadette J. Brooten's and Levine's arguments for the probable *functional* nature of at least some of these positions is a corrective to the standard claim of mere honorifics.[7] Still, these same scholars do not fully explore the evidence for associations in their brief discussion of non-Judean parallels, evidence that may help to resolve issues in the debate.[8]

I argue that we can make better sense of this Judean practice within the broader framework of parental metaphors in the Greco-Roman world, particularly in connection with cities, cults, and associations of the Greek East.[9] Furthermore, in some ways the scholarly debate concerning the Judean cases, which sometimes involves opposing options of honorific title or functional leadership, is problematic. I argue that addressing leaders or benefactors as "mother," "father," or "papa," as well as "daughter" or "son," were somewhat usual ways of expressing honour, gratitude, belonging, or even affection within a variety of contexts. In some cases, it seems that such titles could be used of external benefactors who were not, in fact, members of the group in question. Yet in many others involving associations, parental metaphors were used to refer to members or leaders who apparently served some functional or active role within the group.

Furthermore, epigraphic evidence for fictive parental language has a broader significance concerning the relation or assimilation of Judean gatherings to Greco-Roman civic life—culturally, institutionally, and socially. Although dealing primarily with the position of "leader of the synagogue" (ἀρχισυνάγωγος), Tessa Rajak and David Noy's comments regarding the ways in which certain Judean groups reflect and interact with surrounding society, I would suggest, also ring true in connection with the assimilation of parental designations in the synagogue:

> The echoing of the city's status system within the Jewish group represents at the very least an external acceptance within the group of civic political values. These echoes would necessarily be both the result and the facilitator of interaction. The result of redefining the archisynagogate in terms of a sound understanding of Greek civic titles, is thus to conclude that it belonged in an outward-looking type of community, which did not see fit to run its affairs in isolation, even if it might parade its cultural distinctiveness in chosen ways.[10]

A brief outline of our epigraphic evidence for parental metaphors among Judean synagogues is in order before turning to the Greek civic context and associations. Judean uses of the titles "mother of the synagogue" or "father of the synagogue" are found at several locales, and many of these cases occur in Greek inscriptions. What is likely among the earliest attested instances of such parental terminology in a Judean context comes from

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7. Brooten 1982, 57–72; Levine 2000, 404–6.

8. Brooten 1982, 71. Levine (2000, 404) devotes one passing sentence to the Greco-Roman material despite several pages of discussing the Judean cases.

9. Noy (1993–95, 77–78) makes a similar point, though in brief.

10. Rajak and Noy 1993, 89.

Stobi in Macedonia, dating to the late second or early third century.[11] There a Judean man named Claudius Tiberius Polycharmos donated portions of the lower level of his home to the "holy place" in fulfillment of a vow, including banqueting facilities (a *triclinium*). In the process, he refers to himself as "father of the synagogue at Stobi who lived my whole life according to Judean customs" (*IJO* I Mac 1 = *CIJ* 694, lines 4–9). The simplified designation "Polycharmos, the father" is repeated in the fresco floors of the building, which were also donated in fulfillment of a vow.[12] Levine rightly questions the assumption that all cases are merely honorific, suggesting that the Stobi inscription in particular "conveys the impression that this individual played a crucial and pivotal role in synagogue affairs generally."[13]

Most known references to fathers and mothers of the synagogue involve Greek epitaphs from catacombs in the city of Rome.[14] These inscriptions have not been precisely dated, and recent suggestions range from the late second to the fourth century. At Rome the title "father of the synagogue" occurs in at least eight inscriptions, all of them Greek, which suggests that these were Judeans originally from the eastern diaspora.[15] Eastern origins seem even clearer in at least one of these cases, involving the "father of the synagogue of Elaia" (*IEurJud* II 576; cf. II 406). It seems likely that this synagogue was founded by Judean settlers originally from a city called Elaia in Asia Minor (either west of Nikomedia or south of Pergamon).[16]

There are at least two (possibly three) cases of the corresponding "mother of the synagogue" at Rome, one (possibly two) in Greek and one in Latin.[17] The less fragmentary one reads as follows: "Here lies . . . ia Marcella, mother of the synagogue of the Augustesians. May (she?) be remembered (?). In peace her sleep" (*IEurJud* II 542).[18]

In light of the Greek evidence discussed further below, it would be problematic to argue, as does Eva Maria Lassen,[19] that Judean practice at Rome necessarily reflects specifically Roman (rather than Greek or Greco-Roman) influence, since our earliest examples are in Greek and the majority continue to be so. Added to this is the fact that the titles "mother" and "father" are attested in many other Greek inscriptions involving civic bodies and unofficial associations in the Greek part of the empire at an early period, about which Lassen seems unaware. Conversely, parental titles are not well attested in Latin-speaking

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11. For the second-century dating, see W. Poehlman 1981, 235–47 (refuting Hengel 1966, 145–83). Cf. White 1997, 355; Noy, Panayotov, and Bloedhorn 2004, 56–71.

12. *IJO* I Mac 3–4. Wiseman and Mano-Zissi 1971, 408; cf. White 1997, 355 n. 123.

13. Levine 2000, 405.

14. Cf. Leon 1995 [1960], 186–88; Levine 2000, 405–6.

15. "Father of the synagogue': *IEurJud* II 209 (= *CIJ* 93), 288 (= 88), 540 (= 494), 544 (= 508), 560 (= 319), 576 (= 509), 578 (= 510), 584 (= 537). Also to be noted are two third-century cases of "father of the synagogue" (one in Latin and the other in Greek) from Numidia and Mauretania in Africa. See le Bohec 1981, 192 (no. 74), 194 (no. 79).

16. Cf. *IEurJud* I 18 = *CIJ* 533 (near Ostia). L. Michael White 1998b (chapter about Ostia) conjectures a reconstruction of this inscription which refers to the "father [and patron of the *collegium*]."

17. 'Mother of the synagogue': *IEurJud* II 251 (= *CIJ* 166), 542 (= 496). For the Latin *mater synagogorum*, see *IEurJud* II 577 (= 523). It is worth noting a Latin inscription from Brescia which mentions a "mother of the synagogue" (*matri synagogae*; *IEurJud* I 5; fourth century or earlier).

18. Trans. Noy (*IEurJud* II 542)1995, 425.

19. Lassen 1992, 257–61.

cities, and they only begin to appear in connection with *collegia* by the mid-second century, as I discuss below.

Other clear cases from the Greek East demonstrate continued use of this terminology within Judean circles. There is a papyrus from Egypt (dating 291 CE) that refers to a city councillor from Ono in Roman Palestine, who is also identified as a "father of the synagogue" (*CPJ* III 473).[20] Two other examples, in this case from Greek cities, happen to date to the fourth century. At Mantineia in Greece there was a "father of the people (λαοῦ) for life" who provided a forecourt for the synagogue building (*IJO* I Ach54 = *CIJ* 720). There was an "elder" (πρεσβυτέρος) and "father of the association" (τοῦ στέμμα|τος) in Smyrna, who made a donation for the interior decoration of the Judean meeting place (*IJO* II 41 = *ISmyrna* 844a = *CIJ* 739).[21]

In later centuries, the titles "father" and "mother" (with no further clarification or reference to "the synagogue") became somewhat standard in relation to important figures within Judean circles, at least at Venosa in Apulia (Italy) in the fifth and sixth centuries.[22] However, in some instances, it is uncertain as to whether the title (attested in both Latin and Greek) pertains to the person's relation to the synagogue specifically or to the civic community more broadly, as in the case of "Auxaneios, father and patron of the city" (*IEurJud* I 115 = *CIJ* 619c; cf. *IEurJud* I 116). It is to the broader civic context and to associations within that framework that I now turn.

Parental Metaphors in Greek Cities and Associations

Mothers, Fathers, Daughters, and Sons

The existence of "mothers" or "fathers" of the Roman *collegia* (beginning in the mid-second century) and the practice among some associations in the West of calling leaders "father" (*pater*), especially among initiates in Mithraic mysteries, has gained some attention.[23] Most recently, Emily Hemelrijk (2008) has collected together and discussed all (twenty-six) known cases of "mothers" of the *collegia* in Italy and the Latin provinces (beginning in the mid-second century), but she does not deal with the Greek East. Poland and others point to such Roman instances and too readily dismiss examples in Greek as "late," as under western influence, and as relatively insignificant for understanding association life in the eastern part of the empire.[24] As a result, they fail to further explore the evidence for such familial terminology, including its relation to the Greek cities generally. Despite the vagaries of

20. Cf. Levine 2000, 404.

21. On the use of στέμμα for a group or association, see the inscriptions from Philippi published by Chapouthier 1924, 287–303, esp. 287–92. Cf. *CIG* 3995b (Iconium); *MAMA* X 152 (Appia).

22. Cf. *IEurJud* I 56 (= *CIJ* 612), 61 (= 599), 62 (= 590), 86 (= 611), 87 (= 613), 90 (= 614), 114 (= 619b), 115 (= 619c), 116 (= 619d).

23. On the titles "father" and "mother" in *collegia* in the West (and in Latin inscriptions of the East) see Waltzing 1895–1900, 1.446–49, 4.369–70, 372–73 and, more recently, Perry 1999, 178–192, Liu 2004, 320–21, and Hemelrijk 2008 (who lists all cases).

24. Poland 1909, 371–72; cf. Wilcken 1932, 257–59.

archeological finds and the obvious difficulties in precisely dating many inscriptions, it is important to note that the earliest datable case of parental titles in *collegia* (in Latin) dates to 153 CE, with the majority dating considerably later.

On the other hand, there are cases in Greek from at least the second century BCE for Greek cities and from the early first century CE for associations specifically. There is, in fact, strong evidence pointing to the importance of such parental metaphors in the Greek cities and in local associations within these cities. In contrast, Latin parental titles used in civic (as opposed to imperial)[25] contexts in the West and East, such as *pater civitatis*, were a relatively late development (fifth century), in this case a later designation for the office of *curator civitatis*.[26] Moreover, this evidence suggests the likelihood that (if the practice did not develop independently in West and East) the initial direction of influence in the use of parental titles was from the Greek world to the Roman.

Within the realm of honours in the Greek East and Asia Minor in particular, it was not unusual for civic bodies and other organizations to express honour for, or positive relations with, a benefactor or functionary by referring to him or her as "father" (πατήρ) "mother" (μήτηρ), "son" (υἱός), "daughter" (θυγάτηρ), "foster-father" (τροφεύς), or "foster-child" (τρόφιμος). Evidence for this usage begins as early as the second century BCE (as at Teos involving "fathers") and continues with numerous instances in the first, second, and third centuries of our era (see the partial list in the accompanying table).[27] Thus, at Selge in Pisidia (just west of the Cilicia label on the map) there was a "son of the city" (*polis*) among the dedicators of a statue of Athena in the late first or second century (*ISelge* 2); a "mother of the city" who is an important benefactor and also priestess of Tyche in the second or third century (*ISelge* 17); and a "daughter of the city" who is also a priestess of Tyche and Ares in the late third (*ISelge* 20).

As Louis Robert, Riet van Bremen, and others note, these familial analogies evoke images of prominent persons raising the citizens as though they were their own children, or envision civic bodies and groups adopting as sons and daughters those who demonstrate strong feelings of goodwill (εὔνοια) or affection (φιλία) towards the "fatherland" (φιλόπατρις).[28] Van Bremen, who collects together and discusses the cases of "mothers" and "daughters" specifically, notes that the male equivalents of these titles considerably outnumber the female.[29] Nonetheless, she considers these titles in relation to other evidence for limited participation by women within civic life in the Greek East beginning in the first century: "elite women were integrated into civic life not only through office-holding and as liturgists, but on an ideological level too, as members of their families, and

25. "Father of the fatherland" (*pater patriae*) was a standardized term for the Roman emperors (cf. Lassen 1997, 112–13), but there is little to suggest that the father metaphor was widespread in reference to patrons or leaders in Roman *cities* of the West in the first century.

26. The *pater civitatis* was in charge of building and renovation projects in some cities. See Roueché 1979, 173–85; Dagron and Feissel 1987, 215–20.

27. The inscription from Teos involves the citizens of Abdera honouring the citizens of Teos, "who are fathers of our *polis*" (*SEG* 49 [1999], no. 1536; 170–166 BCE).

28. Robert 1949, 74–81; Robert 1969, 316–22 (in some cases, an actual adoption may have taken place); Nollé and Schindler 1991, 71; van Bremen 1996, 167–69; Jones 1989.

29. Van Bremen 1996, 68, and her appendix 3, pp. 348–57.

Table: Evidence for "daughters," "sons," "mothers," and "fathers" of civic and official organizations (including the πόλις, δῆμος, γερουσία, and νέοι)

(Organized alphabetically by city or region under each title)

Daughter	*SEG* 37 (1987), no. 1099bis (Amorion; second-third cent. CE); *IGR* III 90 (Ankyra; second cent. CE), 191 (Ankyra; mid-second cent. CE); *MAMA* VIII 455, 514–17a-b (Aphrodisias; second-third cent. CE); *IEph* 234, 235, 239, 424, 424a, 1601e (late first-early second cent. CE); *SEG* 36 (1986), no. 1241 (Epiphaneia; third cent. CE); Robert 1969, 319–20 (Herakleia Lynkestis; first-second cent. CE); *ICarie* 63–64 (Herakleia Salbake; 60 CE); *IGR* IV 908 (Kibyra; second cent. CE); *IPerge* 117–18, 120–21, 122–25 (time of Trajan and Hadrian); *ISelge* 20 (third cent. CE); *SEG* 43 (1993), no. 955 (Sagalassos; ca. 120 CE); *IG* V.1 116, 593 (Sparta; late second and third cent. CE); *IStratonikeia* 171, 183, 185–87 (late first cent. CE), 214 (first cent. CE), 227 (second cent. CE), 235 (time of Hadrian), 237 (time of Hadrian), 327 (imperial), 707 (time of Hadrian); *TAM* V 976 (Thyatira; first cent. CE).
Son	*SEG* 45 (1995), no. 738 (Beroia, Macedonia; first-second cent. CE); *SIG*³ 813 A and B (Delphi; first cent. CE); *IGLAM* 53 (Erythrai); *SEG* 45 (1995), no. 765 (Herakleia Lynkestis, Macedonia; imperial period); *BE* (1951) 204, no. 236 (Kition); *SIG*³ 804 (Kos; 54 CE); *SEG* 44 (1994), no. 695 (Kos; first cent. CE); Robert 1969, 309–11 (Lesbos); *SIG*³ 854 (Macedonia); Hepding 1907, 327–29, nos. 59–60 (Pergamon); *OGIS* 470.10 (Sardians); *TAM* III 14, 16, 21, 87, 98, 105, 122, 123 (Termessos; second -third cent. CE); *SEG* 44 (1994), no. 1110 (Panemoteichos; ca. 240–270 CE); *IPerge* 56 (81–84 CE); *SEG* 43 (1993), nos. 950 and 952 (Sagalassos; 120 CE); Pouilloux and Dunant 1954–58, no. 238 (first-second cent. CE); *IG* XII.8 525 (Thasos).
Mother	*IGR* III 191 (Ankyra; mid-second cent. CE); *MAMA* VIII 492b (Aphrodisias; first cent. CE); *IG* V.1 499, 587, 589, 597, 608 (Sparta; early third cent. CE); *IKilikiaBM* I 27 (early third cent. CE); Naour 1977, 265–71, no.1 (Tlos; mid-second cent. CE); *SEG* 43 (1993), no. 954 (Sagalassos; ca. 120 CE); *ISelge* 15–17 (early third cent. CE); *TAM* III 57, 58 (Termessos; early third cent. CE); *IG* XII.8 388, 389 (Thasos; early third cent. CE).
Father	Hagel and Tomaschitz 1998, 42 (Antiocheia epi Krago 21) and 130–31 (Iotape 23a); *SEG* 39 (1989), no. 1055, line 18 (Neapolis; 194 CE); *SEG* 49 (1999), no. 1536 (Teos; 170–166 BCE); *TAM* III 83 (Termessos; first cent. CE); Pouilloux and Dunant 1954–58, no. 192 (first cent. BCE–first cent. CE); *IG* XII.8 458, 533 (Thasos).
Foster-father	See Robert 1949, 74–81 (examples from Amastris, Athens, Chersonesos, Histria, Metropolis, Pericharaxis, Selge, Synnada); cf. Dio of Prusa *Or.* 48.
Foster-child or nursling	*IErythrai* 63 (ca. 240 CE; cf. *SEG* 39 [1989], no. 1240; Jones 1989, 194–97).

as such placed in familial and "affectionate" relationships with the city and its constituent political bodies."[30]

Although the titles were conferred as a way of honouring an influential person, in almost all cases the person so honoured also clearly served some functioning role in the cults or institutions of the cities that honoured them. In fact, sometimes it is clear that it is *because* they made some contributions or provided services as a functionary or leader that they were honoured by being called "mother," "father," "daughter," or "son." So the distinction between honorary title and functional role can be blurry.

On many occasions it is the most important civic bodies, the council (βουλή) and/or the people (δῆμος), who honour a benefactor and mention such titles. Yet this way of expressing positive relations with benefactors and leaders was quite common among other groups and organizations in the Greek East,[31] including gymnastic organizations and unofficial associations. Thus organizations of elders (γεραιοί or γερουσία) at Perge, at Erythrai, and on Thasos in the first to third centuries each honoured benefactors as either "son," "daughter," or "mother" of the group (*IPerge* 121; *IGLAM* 53; *IG* XII.8 388–89, 525). On several occasions, a gymnastic organization of youths (νέοι) at Pergamon honoured Gaius Julius Maximus—a military official, civic president (πρύτανις), and priest of Apollo—as "their own son" (τὸν ἑαυτῶν υἱόν)."[32] Along similar lines, H. W. Pleket reconstructs an inscription from Magnesia on the Maeander River which may refer to a young benefactor as the "son of the friends of the revered ones" (ὑὸς [*sic*] τῶν φι[λοσ]ε[βάστω]ν), involving an association devoted to the members of the imperial family as gods.[33]

In light of this widespread practice in Greek cities and despite scholarly neglect of the subject, then, it is not surprising that similar uses of parental metaphors are found within less official associations of various kinds in eastern parts of the empire. The evidence spans Greek-speaking communities across the Mediterranean, especially in the East, and clearly begins as early as the first century CE. Here I approach the materials on a geographical, rather than chronological, basis, clearly indicating dates (when known) along the way.

There are several examples of such paternal or maternal terminology from Greece, sometimes in reference to important religious functionaries. In the Piraeus (port city to Athens) there was an organization in honour of Syrian deities and the Great Mother whose leadership included a priest, a priestess, a "horse," and a "father of the orgeonic synod" (*SIG*^{3} 1111 = *IG* III 1280a, esp. line 15; ca. 200–211 CE). The "father" is listed alongside these other functional roles without any suggestion that this is merely an honorific title. In connection with Syria, it is worth mentioning the "father of the association" (κοίνου) that set up a monument near Berytos (*IGR* III 1080). The membership list of a "company" devoted to Dionysos at Thessalonica in Macedonia (second or third century) includes several functionaries (both men and women), including a chief initiate (ἀρχιμύστης), alongside the "mother of the company" (σπεῖρας), which may also be a functional position (rather than simply honorific) in this case (*SEG* 49 [1999], no. 814).

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30. Van Bremen 1996, 169.

31. See, for instance, Cormack 1943, 39–44 (involving a "son" of the provincial assembly of Macedonia) and *TAM* III 57 (involving a civic tribe).

32. Hepding 1907, 327–29, nos. 59–60.

33. Pleket 1958, 7–8, regarding *IMagnMai* 119 (late second or third century CE).

Most extant Greek evidence of "fathers" and "mothers" in associations happens to come from Greek cities in the provinces just north of Greece and Asia Minor around the Black Sea. One of the earliest examples of this use of "father" for a benefactor of an association, not known to Poland, dates to about 12–15 CE and reflects "Asian" and Greek (not western) influence in important respects. This inscription from Callatis (in Thracia) involves the "society members" (θιασείται) passing a decree in honour of Ariston, who is called "father," as well as "benefactor" of the society and founder of the city (πατρὸς ἐὼν εὐεργέτα καὶ κτίστα τᾶς πό|λιος καὶ φιλοτείμου τοῦ θιάσου).[34] The members of this association devoted to Dionysos crown Ariston for his benefactions and virtues in his relations with the citizens of the city and for his goodwill and love of honour toward the "society" during the time of "the foreign Dionysia" (τῶν ξενικῶν Διονυσίων; line 40). This is very likely among the instances of Dionysiac associations founded by Greek-speaking immigrants from Asia Minor who settled in the cities of Thracia and the Danube (sometimes explicitly calling themselves an association "of Asians"), as M. P. Nilsson also observes.[35] So we should beware of attributing instances of "father" language within associations to western influence and of assuming that such usage was a late development.

Another later instance from this region involves a "company" (σπεῖρα) of Dionysos worshipers in nearby Histria. Here the group is also designated as "those gathered around" (οἱ περὶ) their "father," Achilleus son of Achillas, their priest, and their hierophant in a way that suggests that all three were also members with functional roles within the group (*IGLSkythia* I 99; 218–222 CE).[36] The same man was also the "father" of what seems to be a different group called the "hymn-singing elders (ὑμνῳδοὶ πρεσβύτε|ροι) gathered around the great god Dionysos" (*IGLSkythia* I 100, lines 4–5, 10–11). If this was not enough, he was also the "father" of a third association, this one devoted to the Great Mother at Tomis. There he is listed between a priest and a chief tree-bearer (ἀρχιδενδροφόρος), both figures with functional roles in cultic activities of the group (*IGLSkythia* II 83). I return to further instances of such plural affiliations and identities in chapter 7.

The use of parental language for benefactors and leaders is not limited to Dionysiac groups, then. A board of temple-wardens (νεωκόροι) devoted to Saviour Asklepios in Pautalia, Thracia (southwest of Serdica), refers to the leader of the group simply as "the father."[37] At Serdica in Thracia, an all-female "sacred association" (δοῦμος) of initiates of the Great Mother (Cybele) calls one of its prominent members, likely a leader, "mother of the tree-bearers" (*CCCA* VI 342; ca. 200 CE).[38] Similarly, a mixed association of tree-bearers associated with this goddess at Tomis includes among its leaders both a "mother" and a "father"

34. *IGLSkythia* III 44 = Sauciuc-Sâveanu 1924, 139–144, no. 2, lines 5–6 (also see Avram 2002, 69–80).

35. See Edson 1948, 154–58; Nilsson 1957, 50–55; Harland 2003a, 36. Another inscription from Callatis likewise involves a group of "society members" and mentions that one member, at least, was from Ephesos (*IGLSkythia* III 35 = Sauciuc-Sâveanu 1924, 126–39, no. 1, line 22). For other associations of "Asians," see *BE* (1952) 160–61, no. 100 (Dionysopolis); *IGBulg* 480 (Montana); *IPerinthos* 56 = *IGR* I 787 (196–198 CE); *IGLSkythia* I 99, 199 (Histria, Moesia); *IGBulg* 1517 (Cillae, Thracia; 241–244 CE); *IG* X.2 309, 480 and Edson 1948, 154–58, no. 1.

36. Cf. *IKilikiaBM* I 34; *TAM* III 910; *IPontEux* IV 207–212.

37. Kalinka 1906, 157–58, no. 177.

38. Also published, with discussion, in Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 116–19, no. 101.

(namely, the Achilleus mentioned above).[39] Both western and "Asian" (Phrygian-Greek) elements can be seen in these groups devoted to the Great Mother as, on the one hand, they are clearly based on the Romanized version of the cult of the Magna Mater focused on the March festival. On the other hand, some of these same groups use distinctively Phrygian–Greek terminology for associations, especially "sacred δοῦμος."[40] It is worth mentioning that instances of the titles *mater* and *pater* (in Latin) in the worship of Cybele from the city of Rome itself are all significantly later (primarily from the late fourth century and on).[41]

As I mentioned in the previous chapter, there are numerous examples of "father of the synod" in associations of the Bosporus region in the first centuries. The case of Panticapaion, among the oldest of the Greek settlements of the region, provides us with at least thirty-three extant Greek inscriptions that involve associations of society members or synod members (θιασῖται, συνοδεῖται; all but two are epitaphs).[42] In at least eight of these inscriptions, an association happens to mention that one of its leaders was known as the "father of the synod" or simply "father," alongside other standard functionaries such as the priest (ἱερεύς), the "gathering leader" (συναγωγός), the "lover-of-what-is-good" (φιλάγαθος), and others.[43] The consistency of the appearance of the "father" position in various groups and the inclusion of the "fathers" alongside others who are clearly functionaries who perform duties are suggestive of an active leadership role for the fathers here, rather than mere honorifics. Other fictive family language, including the use of "brothers" for members, sometimes accompanies the use of father for leaders in these groups of the Bosporus, as I discussed in the previous chapter.

The use of parental language is also attested for associations in Egypt or in groups of Greek-speaking immigrants from Egypt elsewhere in the empire. Some of these involve devotees of gods with mysteries. One inscription from Rome involves a group founded by Greek-speaking immigrants from Alexandria devoted to Sarapis (*IGUR* 77 = *SIRIS* 384; 146 CE). This "sacred company (τάξις) of the Paianistai" devoted to "Zeus Helios, the great Sarapis, and the revered (σέβαστοι) gods" honours Embe, who is called both "prophet" and "father of the company." The use of the term prophet here strongly suggests an active role for this "father" within the group.

Turning to Egypt proper, in a partially damaged third-century CE papyrus from Oxyrhynchos, a man pronounces an oath pertaining to initiation into mysteries, making mention of both the leader of the group, "father Sarapion," and his fellow-initiates, the "brothers," perhaps "mystical brothers" as I discussed in the previous chapter. In connection with mysteries, it is worth mentioning Apuleius's novel, in which the character Lucius, upon initiation in the mysteries of Isis (set at Cenchreae in Greece), refers to the priest as his "parent"

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39. *IGLSkythia* II 83 = *IGR* I 614 = Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 93–95, no. 48, lines 14 and 16 (200–201 CE). Cf. Tacheva-Hitova 1983, 77–78, no. 13 (late second cent. CE); *CCCA* VI 454; (late second cent. or early third cent. CE).

40. For δοῦμος as a group self-designation, see *TAM* V 179, 449, 470a, 483a, 536 (Saittai and vicinity); Buresch 1898, 58–62; *SEG* 42 (1992), no. 625 (Thessalonica); Neumann 1999, 345–53; Neumann 2002.

41. See *CCCA* III 233–36, 241b–43, 246, 263, 283–84, 334.

42. See *CIRB* 75–108; cf. Ustinova 1999, 196–97.

43. *CIRB* 77 (second-third cent. CE), 96 (second cent. CE), 98 (214 CE), 99 (221 CE), 100, 103 (third cent. CE), 104 (third cent. CE), 105 (third cent. CE).

(*parens*).[44] Similarly, worshipers of the Syrian Ba'al as Jupiter Dolichenus at Rome (on the Aventine) reflect such terminology, with priests titled "father of the candidates" (*pater candidatorum*) and fellow initiates calling one another "brothers" (*fratres*) in the second and third centuries.[45] Also quite well known are the associations of soldiers devoted to Mithras in the second and following centuries, in which the seventh stage of initiation was "father" (*pater*) or "father of the mysteries" (*pater sacrorum*).[46] It is important to note, however, that with Jupiter Dolichenus and Mithras we are indeed witnessing largely Roman phenomena, and almost all instances of fictive familial terminology are in Latin for these two gods.

"Papa" as a Functionary

Another metaphorical use of parental or nurturing language in associations is a more intimate form of address that eventually also found a place within Christianity ("papa" = pope). The more colloquial and affectionate term "papa" or "daddy" (πάππας/ἄππας in Greek and variants) was used of religious functionaries within some associations, particularly in Asia Minor, as Karl Buresch noted long ago.[47] In the early second century, a group of initiates devoted to Dionysos met in a "sacred house" in the vicinity of Magnesia on the Maeander River. This group included in its membership two men called "papa" (ἄππας) or foster-father of Dionysos (the role often taken on by Silenos in mythology), alongside a chief initiate, priestess, nurse (ὑπότροφος), and hierophant, a revealer of the sacred objects (*IMagnMai* 117). The photo in figure 10 pictures Dionysos as a baby being cared for by the fatherly Silenos. Other members of the group may well have addressed these men using this affective term.

A second-century inscription from a village north of Hierapolis in Phrygia involves the villagers of Thiounta honouring a "brotherhood," φράτρα. This was a common, indigenous term for a cultic association in Phrygia, Lydia, and Mysia (not to be confused with civic organizations called φρατρία).[48] Within this group at Thiounta, one of the functionaries apparently held the title of "papa."[49] Similarly, a grave from the vicinity of Gölde, near Saittai, mentions "Apollonios the friend and Julianos the papa" (line 29) among those who honour the young deceased priest, Lucius. These two persons appear towards the end of a

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44. *Met.* 11.25; cf. 11.21. Also see the commentary by Griffiths 1975, 278, 292.

45. Cf. Hörig und Schwertheim 1987, nos. 274, 373, 375, 376, 381 (second-third cent. CE). Cf. Bömer, 1981 [1958–1963], 176–78; Ebel 2004, 205–7.

46. Cf. *CIL* III 3384, 3415, 3959, 4041; *CIMRM* 623–24; Tertullian *Apol.* 8.

47. Buresch 1898, 130–31.

48. For examples of this type of association (devoted to gods such as Men, the Great Mother, and Asklepios), see *IPhrygR* 506 (Akmoneia); Pleket 1970, 61–74, no. 4 (Almoura village near Teira); *IPhrygR* 64 (town near Hierapolis); Pleket 1958, no. 4 (Ilion; first cent. CE); *TAM* V 762, 806, and 1148 (towns near Thyatira); *IGLAM* 1724d (town near Kyme); *TAM* V 451 and 470a (Maionia near Saittai; 28–29 CE and 96 CE); *IGR* IV 548 (Orkistos); *MAMA* IV 230 (Tymandos); Artemidoros, *Oneirokritika* 4.44; 5.82. Cf. *PLond* 2710 = Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936, lines 14–15 (Egypt; first cent. BCE). Cf. Seyfarth 1955.

49. Buresch (1898, 130–131) convincingly challenges Ramsay's view that this is a proper name (Appas) and argues that this is far more likely the title of a cultic functionary in this case. Both Robert (1978, 494) and Josef Keil (in *TAM* V) agree with Buresch.

Figure 10. Statue of Silenos caring for the baby Dionysos, now in the Louvre

list and not along with *actual* family members and close relations that appear in the opening lines. This suggests the possibility of the deceased's membership in an association of "friends" (φίλοι) headed by a "papa," as Buresch also points out (*TAM* V 432; 214/215 CE).

Other instances of "papa" do not necessarily involve unofficial associations, yet further confirm the use of the term for functionaries in cultic contexts. A second or third century inscription from Tarsus in Cilicia (*IGR* III 883) involves a professional association (devoted to Demeter) that honours a Roman consul, describing him as director of public works, Ciliciarch, gymnasium-leader, and also "papa" (παπειν). Louis Robert shows that the latter term refers to an "indigenous priestly title."[50] In light of such evidence, D. Feissel seems right in arguing that a first-century inscription from Dorla in southern Lykaonia (north of Lamos) that mentions "Philtatos, the most blessed papa," likely refers to a Greco-Roman cultic functionary, not a Christian priest, as Gertrud Laminger-Pascher too readily assumes.[51]

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50. Robert 1978, 492–94, no. 510; cf. Robert 1949, 197–205; Robert 1987, 50–51.

51. Laminger-Pascher 1992, no. 408. If this is a Christian inscription, it would be among the earliest examples of such. For Feissel's view, which corrects Laminger-Pascher, see *BE* (1993) 771 or, briefly, *SEG* 42 (1992), no. 1247.

What is indeed a clear Christian case of the use of "papa" for the leader of a congregation comes from a letter that likely dates to sometime between 264 and 282 CE (*PAmherst* I 3a, with photo in vol. II, plate 25).[52] In it, a certain Christian merchant, then at Rome, writes to his fellow-workers at Arsinoe in the Fayum region of Egypt, who are termed "brothers." He writes to these fellow-workers and fellow-Christians concerning their need to make payment for the shipment of goods either to Primitinos (the shipper) or by way of Maximos, the "papa" (πάπας) of the congregation at Alexandria.[53] We are witnessing similar uses of fictive kinship to express relationships or hierarchies within associations.

The Meanings of Parental Metaphors

In order to understand the potential meanings of parental metaphors, it is important to note the common juxtaposition of parental (primarily paternal) responsibilities and leadership in the civic setting within literature of the classical, Hellenistic, and Roman periods.[54] When authors from Aristotle on discuss the building blocks of society, they stress the household as the basic unit of society, suggesting that good management of the household would mean good management of the city (*polis*). And when they discuss household management, the father's rule over the household is often taken as an analogy for leadership in society more broadly. The household is, in many ways, a microcosm of society or, as expressed by Philo of Alexandria, "a house is a city compressed into small dimensions, and household management may be called a kind of state management" (*Jos.* 38). So comparisons worked both ways. Actual parental leadership was a model for leadership and beneficence in the civic setting and, conversely, leadership or benefaction in civic contexts and associations could be expressed in terms of parental activity.

Often, inscriptions give us only momentary glimpses of social life, so it is difficult to assess the meanings that would be attached to the metaphorical use of parental language in associations and synagogues, as we also saw in the previous chapter regarding sibling language.[55] Mere passing mention of a "mother" or "father" of a group on an inscription tells us little about how these figures were viewed within the group (in cases where they were members and leaders), or about what social relations and obligations accompanied the use of such fictive familial terminology. Still, something can be said about the potential meanings of parental metaphors within associations and synagogues in light of what we know about "family values" from first- and second-century literary sources, such as Plutarch, Hierocles, and Philo of Alexandria.

First of all, the use of fictive parental terms is consistently related to issues of honour and hierarchy. We have seen that for Greek philosophers such as Plutarch there is a hierarchy of honour that characterizes familial relations. Brothers come before friends, but nature and law "have assigned to parents, after gods, first and greatest honor," and "there is

52. For text, translation, and discussion, see Deissmann 1995 [1927], 205–13.

53. On the Christian use of "papa," see Deissmann 1995 [1927], 216–21, esp. p. 219 note 2.

54. On household management see, for instance, Balch 1981.

55. For a discussion of family metaphors generally in the Roman West, see Lassen 1997, 103–20.

nothing which men do that is more acceptable to gods than with goodwill and zeal to repay favours to those who bore them up" (*De frat. amor.* 479F).[56] Hierocles also speaks of parents as "our greatest benefactors, supplying us with the most important things" (Hierocles *On Duties* 4.25.53).[57] Similarly, the Hellenistic-Judean philosopher Philo outlines the nature of the parent–child relation, grouping the role of parent with other socially superior positions, including the benefactor: "Now parents are assigned a place in the higher of these two orders, for they are seniors and instructors and benefactors and rulers and masters; sons and daughters are placed in the lower order, for they are juniors and learners and recipients of benefits and subjects and servants" (*Spec. leg.* 2.226–27).[58] In choosing to call a benefactor or leader of the group a mother or father, then, members of an association, as metaphorical sons or daughters, were putting that figure on a par with the most honoured persons in society, second only to the gods (or God) from this sort of perspective. Association members were also to some extent reaffirming their own lower position in social hierarchies, along with their piety and gratitude to those higher in the social system.[59]

Second, the use of parental metaphors could also be associated with affection, goodwill, and protection. This would have implications for a sense of belonging within the group in cases where a "mother" or "father" was a member or leader. In his treatise *On Affection for Offspring*, for instance, Plutarch stresses how parents, by nature, show great affection (φιλοστοργία) for children, protecting and caring for the well-being of their offspring as a hen cares for its brood.[60] Conversely, the expectation was that children would reciprocate or "repay beneficence" by providing or caring for their parents, at least in older age (cf. Hierocles *On Duties* 4.25.53). This would have metaphorical significance for those who were "adopted" as "son" or "daughter" with a city or group acting as parent. On a larger scale, the vocabulary of goodwill and affection which Plutarch and others associate with family relations was also very common within the system of benefaction and honours that characterized social relations in the cities of the Greco-Roman world, and parental metaphors are part of this picture.

Conclusion

Greek inscriptions point to the relative importance of fictive parental and familial language in cities of the Greek East at the beginning of the common era. This is also the case with associations specifically. If there was cultural influence at work between East and West, it seems that, initially, the early Greek practice impacted later Roman developments, not the other way around. In many respects, this is an important framework for understanding the adoption, continued use, and contemporary interpretation of the titles "mother of the

56. Cf. Hierocles *On Duties* 4.25.53.

57. Trans. Malherbe 1986, 91–93.

58. Cf. Philo *Dec.* 165–67; Balch 1981, 52–56.

59. Cf. Hierocles *On Duties* 4.25.53.

60. On the epigraphic use of φιλοστοργία ("affection" or "heartfelt love," as G. H. R. Horsley puts it) among family members and in relation to benefactors see Robert 1965, 38–42 and Horsley in *NewDocs* II 80, III 11, and IV 33.

synagogue" and "father of the synagogue" within Greek-speaking Judean diaspora contexts. Because of the happenstance nature of archeological materials, such titles begin to appear in the surviving Judean epigraphic record only in the second century in Macedonia.

In cases where we do possess enough information, it seems that the titles "father" and "mother" could be used in reference to those who actually belonged to the association in question and who served some leadership role there. It is noteworthy that Hemelrijk argues a similar point regarding the active membership and functional roles of "mothers" of the *collegia* in Italy and Latin-speaking provinces.[61] So although in the Judean cases we often lack the sort of information necessary to show that such figures served functional roles, the analogy of the associations suggests that this would be highly likely in at least some instances. Furthermore, the fact that parental titles in associations could be used of both function and honour or, perhaps better stated, as a way of honouring those who provided their services or performed duties, suggests that the functionary versus honorary debate concerning the fathers and mothers of the synagogues may be somewhat misguided.[62] In many cases, the line between the benefactor or patron and the functionary could be blurry, even non-existent. In recent years, it has also been amply noted that leadership in many unofficial settings, including associations, synagogues, and congregations, for instance, naturally emerged out of benefaction. Benefactors that could afford to make material contributions (such as a meeting place) could naturally take on functional leadership roles within a given group or association.[63] These observations notwithstanding the fact that in a few cases parental titles may have been used of more remote benefactors who were not ever members or leaders of the group in question. Nonetheless, we should not assume that this was the norm.

The use of parental metaphors or titles as means of identification among both associations and Judean synagogues places these groups solidly within the social, cultural, and civic landscape of the Greek-speaking Mediterranean. Both share this means of expressing honour, hierarchy, positive relation, and belonging within small-group settings. This practice can be understood as one among the ways in which certain Judean groups reflected their social milieu and signaled, whether intentionally or not, their belonging within a broader cultural context. In the next chapter, we will examine other ways in which such ethnic associations such as the Judeans could both find a home within a society of settlement and continue to identify themselves with the cultural practices of the homeland.

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61. Hemelrijk 2008, 140–41.

62. Similar debates take place in connection with parental titles in *collegia* of the West (see, most recently, Perry 1999, 178–92, and Liu 2004, 320–21). Perry convincingly argues that, in many cases, the use of familial terminology is internal to the group and "indicates something more than a formal patron-client relationship" (Perry 1999, 189). Also see Hemelrijk 2008, who emphasizes the internal participation of "mothers" of the *collegia*.

63. Cf. White 1997; Rajak and Noy 1993, 75–93; Harland 2003a, 31–33.

Part 3

Identity and Acculturation among Judeans and Other Ethnic Associations

5

Other Diasporas

Immigrants, Ethnic Identities, and Acculturation

Introduction

Judeans (Jews) are by far the most studied of immigrants or resettled ethnic groups in the ancient Mediterranean world. Yet there is growing recognition among scholars that gatherings of Judeans abroad should be placed within the framework of other, less-studied immigrant or cultural minority groups—groups that are also worthy of study in their own rights. Thus Martin Goodman opens a recent anthology by posing the question: How different were Judeans from other peoples in the Greco-Roman world? He briefly posits that "the oddities of the Jews . . . were no greater than that of the many other distinctive ethnic groups, such as Idumaeans, Celts, or Numidians."[1] Jack Lightstone's overview of diaspora Judaism assumes that we should approach Judeans as just one among many ethnic groups.[2] The title of Shaye J. D. Cohen and Ernest Frerichs's edited volume, *Diasporas in Antiquity* (1993), is promising but does not fully deliver in terms of the study of migrant diasporas beyond that of the Judeans.

Moreover, Goodman and others correctly point to the importance of comparative studies for our understanding of the identities of individual Judeans and Judean groups abroad. Yet research into other ethnically based associations remains to be done before the comparative enterprise can proceed with success. Our inscriptional evidence for Judeans abroad, most recently gathered in collections such as *Jewish Inscriptions of Western Europe* (3 volumes), *Jewish Inscriptions of Graeco-Roman Egypt*, and *Inscriptiones Judaicae Orientis* (3 volumes), needs to be placed, in the long run, alongside our materials for other immigrants and associations.[3]

Moreover, few scholars analyze evidence for other associations of persons from a

1. Goodman 1998, 4.

2. Lightstone 2007, ch. 25.

3. Horbury and Noy 1992; Noy 1993–95; Noy, Panayotov, and Bloedhorn 2004; Noy and Bloedhorn 2004.

common geographical origin, associations whose existence depended on a shared sense of ethnic identity. Some exceptions to this include George La Piana's rather early work of 1927 on "foreigners" in the city of Rome itself, which touches on both Judeans and associations.[4] Some decades later, L. Ruggini's study (1959) of immigrants from the East in Italy placed Judeans within a comparative perspective, but the article was not concerned with social or cultural questions.[5] More recently, David Noy's excellent study (2000) delves more fully into the world of immigrants in the city of Rome specifically, and he usefully employs insights from the social sciences to analyze the evidence, particularly regarding individual immigrants.

While these studies provide insights into life among immigrants, especially individuals, in Italy, there still remains much work to do on ethnic *associations* in other parts of the ancient Mediterranean with special attention to issues of acculturation and ethnic identities. Despite the vagaries of epigraphic evidence and the scattered nature of our materials both geographically and chronologically, the social historian can nonetheless begin to observe certain recurring aspects of life among immigrant associations and draw some tentative conclusions regarding processes of acculturation in the world of Judeans and Christians.

Alongside the need for group-focussed studies beyond Italy is a particular problem regarding how some scholars employ issues of migration and the formation of associations within broader theories about the Hellenistic and Roman ages. Until recently, it was quite common for certain scholars to speak of these eras as periods of social, political, and cultural decline, along with the decline of the *polis*, or Greek city-state. Such theories of decline among influential scholars, such as M. P. Nilsson and E. R. Dodds, were sometimes accompanied by portraits of a general atmosphere of widespread rootlessness among populations. This picture of rootless populations was illustrated by, among other things, increases in migration and the supposed negative experiences of immigrants specifically.[6]

To provide a recent example, Robert Turcan speaks of a "troubled and drifting world" in which "uprooted people," particularly immigrants, lived "on the fringes of a disintegrating world" in both the Hellenistic and Roman eras.[7] Within this framework, Turcan and others oversimplify the picture of associations, including but not limited to ethnically based associations. Such scholars speak of associations primarily as compensatory phenomena which aimed to amelioriate this supposed situation of widespread detachment.[8]

This theory has rightly been criticized.[9] Peter Brown aptly observes that "many modern accounts of religious evolution of the Roman world place great emphasis on the malaise of life in great cities in Hellenistic and Roman times. Yet the loneliness of the great city and the rapid deculturation of immigrants from traditionalist areas are modern ills: they should not be overworked as explanatory devices for the society we are studying. We can be far from certain that [as Dodds asserts] "such loneliness must have been felt by millions. . . ."[10]

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4. La Piana 1927, 183–403.

5. Ruggini 1959, 186–308.

6. See the more extensive discussion of scholarship in Harland 2006, 21–35.

7. Turcan 1996 [1989], 16–17.

8. Although not expressing this overall theory, P. M. Fraser (1977, 60) seems to think of associations as functioning to compensate for negative immigrant experiences.

9. See Harland 2006, 21–35.

10. Brown 1978, 2–3, citing Dodds 1965, 137.

As the material discussed in this chapter shows, an image of widespread rootlessness among immigrant and other populations does not fit well with evidence concerning real-life associations, at least in the case of many Syrian and Judean associations.

Despite the meagre nature of the evidence, a number of cases point to the probability that associations based on shared ethnic identity were a further means by which immigrants were in some significant ways firmly planted not only in traditions of the homeland but also, to various degrees, in their societies of settlement. Yet we should not begin by presupposing widespread rootlessness or relative deprivation and then reduce associations to merely compensatory phenomena within some overall theory.

This case study draws attention to evidence regarding both acculturation and continued attachments to the homeland. This chapter serves to counter notions of widespread rootlessness among immigrants while also laying the groundwork for the comparative study of ethnically based associations, including Judean gatherings. This dual purpose can be accomplished by delving into the evidence for associations of immigrants from the eastern coast of the Mediterranean sea—known as the Levant—especially associations consisting of members formerly from Syria, Phoenicia, and Samaria, regions neighbouring Judea or Galilee. Samaritans (who designate themselves "Israelites" on Delos) are included here not because they necessarily share some particular cultic affinity with Phoenicians, but because they too neighboured Judea and because contemporaries sometimes included Samaritan towns either within the Phoenician sphere or within the Judean sphere.

Several useful studies address evidence regarding immigrants from Syria or Phoenicia, especially individual immigrants or families at places such as Delos and Rhodes, as we shall see. Yet none focuses attention on dynamics of acculturation and the maintenance of ethnic identities in *associations* of Syrians or Phoenicians specifically. Rather than merely theorizing about the general experience of immigrant groups, this case study begins to fill a gap in our knowledge by looking at the concrete ways in which particular Syrian associations adapted to their place of settlement while simultaneously maintaining contacts with their place of origin. This provides a fitting framework for comparison with acculturation and identity among Judean groups in the cities of the Mediterranean world.

Insights from the Social Sciences

Some terminological clarifications that build on my discussion in the introduction are in order before proceeding with the discussion of both immigrant associations in this chapter and Judeans at Hierapolis in the next chapter. As I explained in the introduction, "ethnic identity" is used to refer to a group's shared sense of who they are based on certain experiences and notions of connection deriving from *group members' perceptions* of common geographical, cultural, and ancestral origins. From the (Tajfelian) social identity theorists' perspective, ethnic identity is that aspect of the self-concept that derives from belonging to an ethnic or cultural minority group.[11] These two ways of understanding the term—pertaining to the collective and to the individual—are not mutually exclusive, and both will inform the discussion at certain points.

11. Cf. Phinney 1990.

Closely related to studies of identity, particularly ethnic identity, are social-scientific studies of migration and acculturation. There are three main concepts from this area of study that may assist in the analysis of immigrants' processes of negotiation in the place of settlement and in our discussion of Judean families at Hierapolis in the next chapter. The approach I take here is informed primarily by the sociological work of Milton Yinger and by the social-psychological work of John W. Berry, among others.[12] Recent studies of Christians and Judeans successfully employ similar theories of assimilation or acculturation, including David Balch's (1986) study of 1 Peter's household code and John M. G. Barclay's study (1996) of Judeans in the diaspora.

The first important concept is *cultural assimilation*, or *acculturation*, which refers to cultural interchanges and processes of boundary negotiation associated with encounters between two different groups (or individual members of two groups) with distinctive cultural traits.[13] Acculturation can involve the selection, adoption, and adaptation of a variety of cultural elements including language, values, and other cultural conventions that compose the lifestyle and worldview of a particular cultural group. This process is selective and transformative, with some cultural elements being adopted and adapted and other elements being rejected.[14]

It is important to emphasize that in my theoretical framework here acculturation can progress significantly without the disintegration of a group's boundaries in relation to a larger cultural entity. Cultural adaptation is often a twofold process entailing the "maintenance of cultural integrity as well as the movement to become an integral part of a larger societal framework," as Berry puts it.[15] Another related concept is "biculturalism," which is used by Berry and others to refer to a dynamic process involving the individual's participation in both the minority culture and the majority culture.[16] A fully "biculture" individual would be a person who is both highly *en*culturated into the minority group culture and highly acculturated to the majority culture. In the study of modern diasporas (a subfield of migration studies), a similar term is "hybridity," which implies the combination of ethnic or other identities in a particular individual or group. As Stuart Hall puts it, the "diaspora experience . . . is defined, not by essence or purity, but by the recognition of a necessary heterogeneity and diversity; by a conception of 'identity' which lives with and through, not despite, difference; by *hybridity*."[17]

A second main concept is *structural assimilation*, which in Yinger's use refers to degrees of social integration or participation within informal social networks (e.g., neighbourhoods, associations) or formal structures (e.g., political, legal, social, or economic institutions) of a given host society.[18] It is important to note the importance of evaluating different types of social interactions and their implications regarding levels of assimilation. Thus, for instance, a case of intermarriage between individuals of two different cultural groups

12. Berry 1980; Berry 1997, 5–34; Yinger 1981, 249–64; Phinney 1990; Marger 1991, 117–20; Yinger 1994.

13. Cf. Yinger 1981, 249.

14. Cf. Barnett 1954, 973–1002.

15. Berry 1980, 13.

16. Birman 1994.

17. Hall, as cited and discussed in Brubaker 2005, 6.

18. Yinger 1981, 254; cf. Marger 1991, 118; Elise 1995, 275.

would correspond to higher degrees of assimilation than would occasional contacts with someone of a different cultural group within social networks. The difficulty is that there is rarely sufficient evidence from antiquity to assess things such as intermarriage among two different cultural groups or the consistency of contacts between certain people or groups. We do, however, gain occasional glimpses into social interactions, such as contacts between benefactors and beneficiaries, which we need to consider carefully in order to assess what cultural weight we can attach to a particular case of networking.

Third, concepts such as *dissimilation* and *cultural maintenance* provide balance to assessments of social and cultural interchanges between cultural groups, emphasizing variety in outcomes.[19] Milton Gordon (1964) and other assimilationist scholars of previous generations have been rightly criticized for assuming that "all groups are willing to drop their own cultures and take on that of the core," as Sharon Elise points out.[20] I would suggest that such problematic approaches were more in line with societies that, politically, maintained a "melting-pot" view (e.g., the United States) rather than a "mosaic" view (e.g., Canada) of migration and cultural diversity. In a study of recent trends in immigration and history writing, Ewa Morawska states the following:

> The assimilation paradigm in its classical version has been abandoned on account of its excessive simplicity, and the "ethnicity-forever" approach that replaced it [in the 1970s] is also passing away. The sociology and historiography of immigration may now be on their way toward formulating a more encompassing conceptual framework for the interpretation of adaptation . . . that would integrate both the assimilation and ethnicization processes.[21]

Regarding ancient cases, Jane Webster's study (2001) of problems with previous approaches to "Romanization" (a specific form of acculturation to Roman ways) makes similar observations concerning the need for a balanced approach that pays attention to the *blending* of cultural values and practices.[22] This is a balance I attempt to accomplish in my analysis of ancient ethnic associations and cultural minority groups in this chapter and following chapters.

Recent theories of assimilation and acculturation carefully avoid the tendency to assume complete assimilation or the disappearance of group boundaries as the inevitable outcome. Instead, there is an emphasis on varieties in levels of assimilation, as well as attention to certain processes that work to counter assimilation in particular ways and at various points in a certain group's (or individual's) history.[23] Individual members of a cultural minority group (such as Syrians, Judeans, and Christians) are, in an ongoing way, being *en*culturated into the particular ways of that group while also interacting with the majority culture outside of that group.

Yinger, in particular, uses the term "dissimilation" to refer to the way in which

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19. Brettell and Hollifield (eds.) 2000.
20. Elise 1995, 277.
21. Morawska 1990, 218.
22. She adapts the concept of "Creolization" as a replacement for "Romanization."
23. Cf. Brettel and Hollifield 2000.

particular minority or ethnic groups make conscious efforts to reassert and strengthen specific group-society differences: "powerful assimilative forces are matched by renewed attention to socio-cultural differences."[24] Moreover, he states:

> In spite of identity shifts and high rates of intermarriage in some settings and extensive acculturation and integration in almost all settings, some subcultural group lines will remain sharp and some individuals will think first of their ethnic group when they appraise their own identities.[25]

As Jean S. Phinney's survey of literature (from 1972–1990) also notes, Berry and others view this as a two-dimensional process involving both the culture of the minority group and the culture of the majority, with four main combinations in outcome: (1) strong identification with both groups, which entails integration or biculturalism; (2) an exclusive identification with the majority culture, which entails assimilation; (3) identification with only the minority group, which entails separation; and, (4) identification with neither group, which entails marginality.[26] Berry explains the first option, "integration," which entails the "maintenance of cultural integrity as well as the movement to become an integral part of a larger societal framework."[27]

Associations of Immigrants from the Levant

Because of the partial and circumstantial nature of archeological evidence for Syrian and other groups in antiquity, we do not have full access to the same sorts of data as the modern social scientist. Nonetheless, the following discussion of Syrian associations assesses particular historical cases by forming and addressing questions regarding the following indicators of acculturation, structural assimilation, and cultural maintenance: expressions of ethnic identities and ties to the homeland; linguistic practices; rituals, including the gods honoured; other social or cultural conventions or practices (indicative of some level of acculturation and/or cultural maintenance); and, social interactions or network connections with individuals, groups, or institutions (indicative of some level of structural assimilation in the society of settlement or continued attachments to the homeland).

The approach here is to look at specific historical cases on a geographical and chronological basis while also asking broader questions regarding the extent and nature of connections between particular Syrian groups, on the one hand, and individuals, groups, institutions, and cultural traditions, on the other. This will allow observations regarding the historical specifics of particular cases while also drawing attention to common factors and patterns that are observable from one Syrian group to another at different locales and in different periods.

Gathering together in an ongoing association to honour the god(s) and to socialize

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24. Yinger 1981, 257; see pp. 257–61.
25. Yinger 1981, 261.
26. See Phinney 1990, 501–2.
27. Berry 1980, 13; cf. Berry 1997.

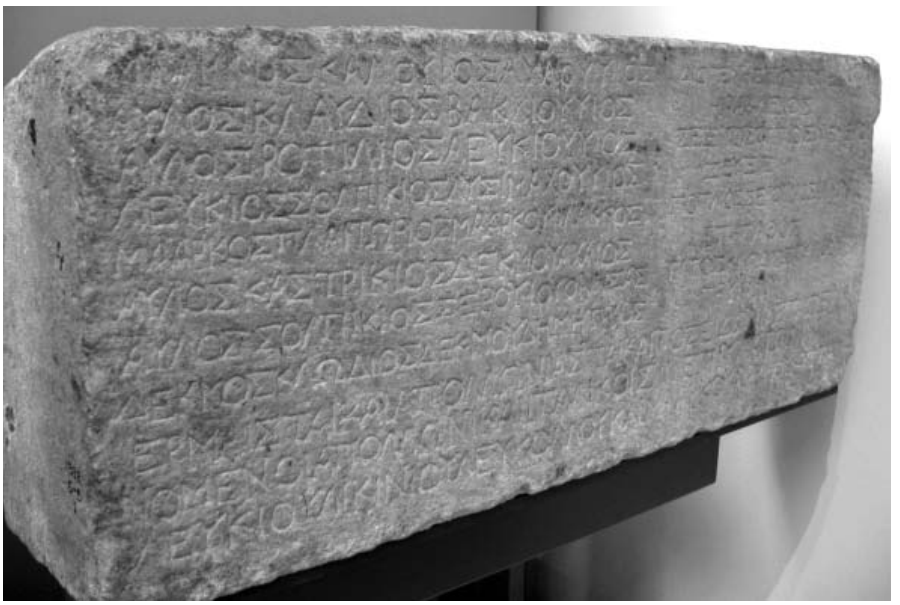

*Figure 11. Monument from Delos dedicated "to Apollo and the Italian gods" by the Italian Hermaists, Apolloniasts, and Poseidoniasts, now in the British Museum (*GIBM *IV 963 =* IDelosChoix *157; 74 BCE)*

with friends was a tendency shared by migrants from various parts of the Mediterranean. Some should be mentioned before turning to Syrians specifically. On the island of Delos alone, for instance, there were communities of Italians, Samaritans, Judeans, Egyptians, and both Tyrians and Berytians from Syria, amidst others in the Hellenistic era.[28] The monument in figure 11, for instance, involves three different associations of Italian merchants—Hermes-, Apollo-, and Poseidon-devotees—who list their twelve leaders and dedicate the monument "to Apollo and the Italian gods" in the so-called Italian marketplace (*GIBM* IV 963 = *IDelosChoix* 157; 74 BCE). On the island of Rhodes there were associations of immigrants from Herakleia in Pontus, from Perge in Pamphylia, and from nearby Crete.[29] Particularly visible in Asia Minor were the many associations or "settlements" (κατοικοῦντες) of Roman and Italian businessmen at places like Ephesos, Kibyra, Assos, and Apameia.[30]

Those who emigrated from Asia Minor also gathered together in associations based on common geographic origins. There are inscriptions attesting to Milesians settled on Amorgos island and inhabitants from Pontic Herakleia in Scythia.[31] Among the many groups of settlers from Asia Minor at Rome were the *collegium* of Nysaians, the guild of Ephesian

28. Cf. Bruneau 1970, 457–96, 585–630.

29. *IG* XII.1 158 (cf. *IG* XII.1 963; *IGLSkythia* III 72); *ILindos* 391 and 392 (time of Augustus); *IGR* IV 1128 (time of Augustus).

30. See, for instance, Hatzfeld 1919; Müller and Hasenohr 2002.

31. Milesians: *IG* XII.7 395–410 (second-third cent. CE). Herakleians: *IGLSkythia* III 72 = *SEG* 24 (1974), no. 1037 (second cent. CE).

shippers and merchants, and a group of Sardians, to name just a few.[32] Other associations proudly identified cultural attachments to Asia Minor by labeling themselves a "society" or "company" (*thiasos* or *speira*) of "Asians," as with a number of groups in Macedonia, Thracia, Moesia, and Dacia.[33]

Turning to settlers in Syria itself, at Sidon there were associations of soldiers formed based on common geographic origins, including the "corporate bodies" of Kaunians, Termessians, and Pinarians.[34] The formation of such associations based on common geographic origins is itself an important sign of identification with one's homeland and its cultural ways, as well as an indicator of cultural maintenance and the expression of ethnic identities in the society of settlement.

Evidence for Phoenician or Syrian associations abroad in particular is quite considerable in comparison with other settlers that formed associations based on geographic origins or ethnic identity.[35] Although the inscriptions and buildings associated with these Syrian associations provide only momentary glimpses into issues of identity and acculturation, there are common threads running through the surviving materials. There are indications of both identification with the cultural life of the homeland and notable contacts within local social and cultural life in the place of settlement in a number of cases. These contacts can be interpreted in terms of some degree of integration, even though the chronological and geographical distribution of the evidence makes it difficult to determine what degree. We simply do not have sufficient evidence of Syrian immigrants from one time and place to permit a thick description of a particular group's levels of cultural and structural assimilation. What we do have is evidence from various locales over time which can nonetheless provide indications regarding recurring trends among Syrian immigrants.

Attica and the Piraeus in the Hellenistic Era

Some of the earliest evidence for associations of Syrians or Phoenicians comes from the Piraeus, port city to Athens. There we find worship of numerous foreign deities, as well as the establishment of associations based on common geographical origins and a shared sense of ethnic identity, including Egyptians, Carians, Phrygians, and Thracians.[36] Figure 12 depicts a group of athletic youths approaching the goddess Bendis, the patron deity of Thracians settled in the Piraeus. Evidence for Athenian control over the entrance of foreign cults is particularly strong for the fifth and fourth centuries, when "foreigners" were

32. Clerc 1885, 124–31, side B, lines 35–45 (the other side of this monument contains *IEph* 22), on which also see Lüderitz 1994, 194–95, with trans. in note 36; *IGUR* 26 and 86. Also see La Piana 1927, 183–403 and Noy 2000.

33. *IG* X.2 309, 480 (second-third cent. CE); *IPerinthos* 56 = *IGR* I 787 (196–198 CE); *BE* 65 (1952), 160, no. 100 (Dionysopolis); *IGBulg* 480 (Montana; second cent. CE). See Edson 1948, 154–58, who discusses numerous cases.

34. Macridy 1904 = Mendel 1912–14, vol. 1 nos. 102–8.

35. On associations or brotherhoods (esp. *hbr* and *mrzh*) in Phoenicia or Syria itself, see Teixidor 1964, 77–82; Eissfeldt 1968, 285–95, 264–70; Milik 1972, 141–281; Teixidor 1977, 6. Walter Ameling (1990, 189–99) lists a number of cases involving diaspora Syrian associations.

36. Garland 1987, 107–9, and pp. 101–38 generally. On associations and foreigners at Athens in the Hellenistic period, see Parker 1996, 333–42; Vestergaard 2000, 81–109.

Figure 12. Marble relief of Bendis, goddess of the Thracians, along with several athletic youths; relief now in the British Museum (ca. 400–375 BCE)

required to submit a formal request for permission to establish a sanctuary for their patron deities. As Robert Garland points out, however, it seems that by the late fourth century this control had lessened, as none of the cults established in the following era makes mention of such a special privilege.[37]

Alongside these groups in the Piraeus are Phoenicians, who are attested as early as the third century BCE in two bilingual inscriptions.[38] One is an epitaph erected for a deceased daughter by a chief-priest of the god Nergal, an Assyrian deity that had been imported into Sidon at an early stage.[39] The more important inscription here includes, in Greek, honours and crowns granted by an "association (κοινόν) of Sidonians" for a fellow Sidonian (*IG* II² 2946).[40] Above this is a more extensive Phoenician inscription that dates to the third century BCE. In it, Greek-style honours are granted to one Shama'baal, president of the group in charge of the temple. The inscription happens to mention the funds belonging to "god Baal of Sidon," likely the patron deity of the association. The title Baal, "Lord," could of course apply to a number of Canaanite or Phoenician deities. Yet here it most likely refers

37. Garland 1987, 107–109.

38. For Phoenician inscriptions from Cyprus and Greece generally, see *CIS* I 10–96, 114–21. Two later inscriptions attest to the existence of a "priestess of the Syrian deity" at the Piraeus (*IG* II² 1337, 2361; 95/94 BCE and third cent. CE). The former involves honours offered by an association.

39. See Garland 1987, 237, no. 100; Eiselen 1907, 130.

40. Most recently republished and discussed by Ameling 1990.

to the god Eshmun, who was particularly prominent at Sidon and associated with Astarte, who possessed primary place as patron deity of that city.[41] Regarding Sidonians in Attica, there is an earlier honorary inscription from Athens itself in which the Athenian people honour Apollonides, a Sidonian, on the request of a group of merchants and shippers (*IG* II² 343; ca. 332/331 BCE).[42]

These early cases involving those identified as Sidonian in Attica demonstrate dynamics of identity and acculturation at play. On the one hand, there is the continued use of Phoenician language and the worship of Sidon's native deity. On the other, there are indications of adaptation to local, Greek cultural practices, most notably the use of Greek and the engagement in Greek-style honorary activities (either of which may also have begun before migration with the Hellenization of Syria under the Seleucids beginning in the third century BCE). The fact that a presumably wealthy Sidonian at nearby Athens was honoured not only by a group of merchants but also by the civic institution of the people of Athens shows that such wealthy Syrian immigrants could maintain important links with civic institutions in at least an occasional manner. Shortly, I discuss other cases in which Syrian associations maintained relations either with institutions in the society of settlement, pointing towards some degree of structural assimilation, or with the institutions of the homeland, suggesting areas of cultural maintenance.

Islands of the Aegean, Including Delos, in the Hellenistic Era

Individual immigrants from Syria gathered together in associations on numerous Greek islands of the Aegean, particularly on islands with an importance for shipping and trade networks. Many Phoenicians are attested on the island of Cos, for instance. A fourth century BCE inscription in both Greek and Phoenician involves the identification of the Phoenician goddess Astarte (Ashtoreth) with Aphrodite.[43] And there was at least one "society" (θίασος) in the first century BCE with a Syrian connection worshipping Astarte and Zeus Soter, likely identified with a Lord such as Baal Shamem ("Lord of Heaven").[44] Although worshipped throughout Syria and beyond, Astarte was particularly prominent at Sidon and Tyre.[45]

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41. Cf. Lucian *Syr. D.*, 4. The suggestion that Astarte held prominent position in relation to Eshmun is based on the practice of Sidonian kings, who called themselves priests of Astarte rather than of Eshmun (see Eiselen 1907, 127–128).

42. Individual Syrians (both men and women) in Athens and Attica:

Berytians: *IG* II² 1008, 1011, 1960, 8407, 8408, 9484

Sidonians: *IG* II² 960, 1043, 2314, 2316, 8358, 8388, 10265–86; *CIS* 115, 116, 119.

Tyrians: *IG* II² 342, 3147, 4540, 4698, 10468–73, 11415.

Sidonian settlements or communities are also attested elsewhere in the Hellenistic era, including Judea and Idumea in the second century BCE. See Isaac 1991, 132–44; Josephus *Ant.* 12.258–264a; *OGIS* 593.

43. See Bonnet 1996, 87–88.

44. *IKos* 165a (Tyrian), 194 (Sidonian) 341 (Tyrian); *IKosSegre* ED 54 (Tyrian), EV 150 (Phoenician). *IRhodM* 496; see Bonnet 1988, 378.

45. Bonnet 1996, 30–44.

An association of Syrians is also attested on Syme island (east of Cos and north of Rhodes). This honorary inscription of the late first century BCE involves honours for an Idumean "resident foreigner" (μετοίκος), who had been a benefactor of several associations and neighbourhoods. Among these groups was an association of Syrians devoted to Adonis, Aphrodite, and Asklepios (*IG* XII.3 6).[46] Here again there is involvement by an expatriot from the Levant (from Idumea) within local networks. Yet in this case there are even clearer signs of multiple connections in the place of settlement, involving links with other immigrants (Syrians) and with native populations (the districts).

There are higher concentrations of evidence regarding immigrant groups at locales with the highest strategic importance for trade routes, including the island of Delos. The majority of our evidence here comes from the second century BCE, especially the period when Delos was under direct rule by Athens (166–88 BCE) and came to be considered a free port by the ascendant Roman power.[47]

There has been a notable amount of research on immigrants settled on Delos in the Hellenistic period, particularly individual immigrants, Italians, merchants, and bankers.[48] Philippe Bruneau's extensive study examines the cults of Delos generally, including those devoted to "foreign" deities.[49] Marie-Françoise Baslez's article begins to scratch the surface of our present concern by arguing that ethnically based associations were mechanisms by which eastern immigrants maintained attachments to their own traditions while also integrating into a new society. Yet Baslez's study is quite general and is primarily focused on issues of organization and on distinguishing associations of "oriental" foreigners from the more typical Greek associations.[50] Here I begin with associations of Phoenicians or Syrians of the second century before turning to Samaritans.

Beyond the numerous individual expatriots from Syria attested on Delos, there is significant evidence for Syrian or Phoenician cults and associations.[51] One monument involves a dedication by three men to "Heracles and Hauronas, the gods who dwell in Jamnia," on behalf of their brothers, relatives, and "the citizens with them."[52] These are Phoenician Jamnians who had ongoing contact with one another (perhaps in an association) in

46. Literary evidence points to the prominence of the cult of Adonis just outside of Berytos at Aphaca. Lucian mentions the rites of Adonis in connection with "Aphrodite" at Byblos, for instance, so it is possible that these Syrians on Syme island have some connection to either Berytos or Byblos. Teixidor 1977, 35; Lucian *Syr. D.*, 6.

47. Cf. Binder 1999, 297.

48. E.g., Bruneau 1970, 585–620; Rauh 1993; Le Dinahet 1997a, 617–66; Le Dinahet 1997b, 325–36; Le Dinahet 2001, 103–23; Müller and Hasenohr 2002. The evidence for Italian or Roman immigrant associations includes *IDelos* 1730–71; *IDelosChoix* 86, 95–98, 105, 107, 116, 131, 138, 144–45, 157, 164.

49. Bruneau 1970, 457–96.

50. Baslez 1988, 147.

51. Individual Syrians on Delos:
Berytians: *IDelos* 2034, 2182, 2593, 2598, 2599, 2633
Sidonians: *IDelos* 1925, 2091a-b, 2100, 2101, 2314, 2396, 2549, 2598, 2612, 2879
Tyrians: *IDelos* 1925, 1937, 2005, 2130, 2366, 2598, 2599, 2612, 2616; *IG* XI.4 777.

52. *IDelos* 2308; cf. 2309. See Isaac 1991, 139; Bruneau 1970, 475.

connection with the sanctuary of these deities on Delos.[53] The gods in question can be identified with the Canaanite or Phoenician deities Melqart (here Herakles) and Hauron (also transliterated Horon).[54] A similar Phoenician connection is evident in dedications by a banker from Ascalon for the "Ascalonian Poseidon" and for the "Palestinian Heavenly Astarte" (around 100 BCE).[55]

A number of inscriptions from the final decades of the second century BCE attest to a cult of Syrian deities on Delos centered around the worship of a goddess called variously the "Pure Goddess" (Ἁγνὴ θεά), "Pure Aphrodite," "Pure Aphrodite, the Syrian Goddess," or "Atargatis, Pure Goddess."[56] This is the same Atargatis that I discussed in connection with processions in chapter 2. Several of these monuments indicate there was a board of functionaries or "therapeutists" (θεραπευταί) connected with this cult of Syrian deities, and that the cult was led by a priest and priestess.

Some of these priests and priestesses were from Syrian Hierapolis (Bambyke) itself, home of the famous temple of Atargatis as described by Lucian of Samosata.[57] Some though not all of the inscriptions dedicated to this goddess involve expatriots from Syrian towns, including Laodicea, Antioch, and Hierapolis.[58] Among these dedications are those to the deities Atargatis and Hadad, who also seem to have been coupled at the sanctuary of Hierapolis in the homeland. A number of these same inscriptions add a third honoree, "Asklepios," who is likely to be identified with Eshmun, according to H. Seyrig.[59]

More importantly with respect to associations, in one inscription there is mention of the "society members" (θιασίται) of the "Pure Goddess" under the direction of a "synagogue leader" (συναγωγεύς). A subsequent discovery of another inscription, which likely relates to the same group, now clarifies that this was an ethnic group called "the association of Syrian society members (τὸ κοινὸν τῶν θιασιτῶ[ν] | τῶν Σύρων)."[60] It is worth noting that a similar society of the "ancestral gods" (τῶι κοινῶι τοῦ θιάσου τῶν πατρίω[ν]) devoted to Phoenician deities, including Atargatis, existed on the island of Astypalaia in the third or second century BCE (*IG* XII.3 178). Syrians abroad continued to carefully honour the deities of their native land, and they did so, in part, by forming associations.

Further materials from Delos pertain to Tyrians and, more extensively, Berytians from

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53. Because of the mixed population of Jamnia, the site is sometimes described as a Phoenician city (Philo of Byblos) and sometimes as a Judean or Palestinian city (see Isaac 1991, 138).

54. Bruneau 1970, 475; Isaac 1991, 139–40. On the god Hauron, see Albright 1936, 1–12; Albright 1941, 7–12.

55. *IDelos* 1719–21; cf. *IDelos* 2305; Bruneau 1970, 474.

56. On this cult, see *IDelos* 2220–2304; Siebert 1968, 359–74; Bruneau 1970, 466–73. For dedicators who label her the "Syrian goddess" or identify the Pure Goddess as Atargatis see, for instance, *IDelos* 2245, 2251, 2252, 2275 (all ca. 100 BCE), 2294, 2299, 2300.

57. E.g., *IDelos* 2257, 2258, 2283.

58. Syrian expatriots are from Antioch (*IDelos* 2224, 2263, 2285), Hierapolis (nos. 2226, 2261), and Laodicea (nos. 2259, 2262, 2264, 2270). Among the other dedicants are an Alexandrian (no. 2225), an Athenian (nos. 2251–52), a man from Marathon (no. 2245), and several Romans (nos. 2255, 2266, 2269).

59. *IDelos* 2224, 2248, 2261, 2264; Lucian *Syr. D.* See Seyrig 1960, 246–47; Bruneau 1970, 470–71.

60. For the inscription with commentary, see Siebert 1968.

Phoenicia. In both cases, it is the economic importance of Delos that brought these immigrants. The "synod of Tyrian merchants and shippers" at Delos is known from just one inscription, dating to 153/152 BCE (*IDelos* 1519 = *IDelosChoix* 85).[61] The inscription recounts the outcome of a particular assembly (ἐκκλησία) of the members of the association, who are also called "society members" (θιασίται). This group honoured a fellow member, named Patron, who had shown his goodwill by leading an embassy to Athens, which at this point controlled Delos. The embassy had been successful in gaining permission for the group to build its own sanctuary for "Herakles."

What is particularly significant with respect to the expression of ethnic identity here is the patron deity of this association, which suggests important connections with the homeland of Tyre. The merchants' identification of their god Herakles as "founder of the homeland" (ἀρχηγοῦ δὲ τῆς πατρίδος) in line 15 has particular importance here. Corinne Bonnet's study shows the consistency with which Tyrian nationals abroad identified their native deity, Melqart, with Herakles specifically.[62] Primary in this characterization was the notion that the god Melqart was the founder of cities, so the epithet "the founder" (ἀρχηγέτης) often accompanies the identification of Melqart with Herakles. For instance, about the same time these Tyrians on Delos inscribed their honours, two brothers from Tyre who had settled on the Sicilian island of Malta erected a bilingual dedication for "Melqart, Lord of Tyre" (in Phoenician), who is translated as "Herakles the Founder" (in Greek).[63] As Aaron Jed Brody's study shows, both Melqart and a Semitic god identified with "Poseidon" were among the favourite patron deities of Phoenician and Punic sailors and merchants for centuries.[64] The Tyrians on Delos who founded this sanctuary also make mention of a festival in honour of a "Poseidon" (line 40), which brings us to settlers originally from Berytos (Beirut) who were devoted to a "Poseidon."

Evidence for immigrants from Berytos settled on Delos is more substantial than the evidence for Tyrians, including numerous inscriptions. Most of these were found in excavations of the meeting place of the association (*IDelos* 1520, 1772–96, 2325). This group called itself the association (κοινόν) of "Poseidon-worshipping merchants, shippers, and receivers from Berytos." Like the Tyrian guild, this group was active around the middle of the second century BCE. A number of honorary and dedicatory monuments show the continuing importance of the gods of Berytos for these compatriots, as the inscriptions refer to the "ancestral gods" (πατρίοι; *IDelos* 1783, 1785, 1789). The most prevalent native deities on coins from the city of Berytos itself are the deities Poseidon (a Hellenized expression for a Phoenician sea god) and both Eshmun and Astarte (also prevalent at Sidon), so these are among the possibilities for this guild's patron deities.[65] Among the monuments erected by the Berytians on Delos for such gods is the dedication of a meeting place (οἶκος) with "oracles for the ancestral gods" (*IDelos* 1774).

Alongside this sense of cultic attachment to the homeland are indications of adaptation

61. A fourth century dedication from Delos involves "sacred shippers" from Tyre, however (*IDelos* 50).

62. Bonnet 1988; cf. Millar 1993, 264–65; Freyne 2001, 185–88.

63. *IG* XIV 600. See Freyne 2001, 185–86; cf. Herodotus *Histories* 2.44.

64. Brody 1998, 22–26, 33–37.

65. On the Phoenician cult of Poseidon see Teixidor 1977, 42–46.

to the cultural landscape of the new home, at least in terms of relations with the powers-that-be and involvements within social networks. On the one hand, there are two inscriptions that concern relations with Athens and its institutions. In one, the association erects a monument "for the people of the Athenians on account of the virtue and goodwill which the people continues to show towards the association" (*IDelos* 1777). Another involves the association's honours for a benefactor named Demokles, likely an Athenian citizen. The monument includes a series of crowns captioned by either "the association" or "the Athenian people" (*IDelos* 1780).

On the other hand, there are signs of interaction with the Italian or Roman mercantile and cultural presence on Delos. Thus, the most extensive inscription pertaining to this Berytian association involves honours for a Roman banker named Marcus Minatius, son of Sextus, around 153 BCE (*IDelos* 1520). Minatius is praised by the association for his contributions in connection with both his financing of the completion of the headquarters and his offering of a special sacrifice and banquets for members. In return, members of the association offer several forms of honour, including the erection of a statue of Minatius in the meeting place and the establishment of special honorary occasions on which to renew their crowning of this benefactor, including a procession with a sacrificial ox. Furthermore, this Roman Minatius himself attends meetings and festivals of the Berytians, along with his own guests. This suggests close connections between these Syrian immigrants and an important Roman merchant on Delos. Some decades later, in about 90 BCE, the same association honoured a Roman benefactor, Gnaius Octavius son of Gnaius, a praetorian provincial governor (*IDelos* 1782).

Perhaps even more important for present purposes is the integration of the goddess Roma (personified Rome) alongside the ancestral gods of Berytos within the cultural life of this group (*IDelos* 1778, 1779). Quite striking is the statue base on which Roma is praised for her positive relations not only with the guild but also with Berytos, the homeland (*IDelos* 1778, lines 1–4). Archeologists excavating the remains of the meeting place have identified three or four shrines in the northwestern section, and there is agreement among scholars that, alongside shrines for Phoenician deities such as Poseidon and Astarte, Roma was assigned a shrine and became integrated within the ritual life of this group, at least by the first half of the first century BCE.[66]

Materials from other parts of the Mediterranean in other periods suggest that, as an immigrant group, the Berytians are not completely unusual in terms of maintaining connections with civic institutions and Roman figures or traditions. In this sense, these indications of assimilation may be indicative of what was going on in other Syrian groups in connection with whom we happen to lack this number of inscriptions.

It is the number and consistency of contacts that stands out in the Berytian case and there are difficulties in assessing to what degree this level of interaction is peculiar or representative. Certain aspects of the Berytians' interactions are characteristic of Delos in the mid-second century, when various individuals and groups vied with one another in seeking some level of recognition in relation to both Athenian and Roman institutions or authori-

66. On the building history see Picard 1920, 263–311; Bruneau 1970, 622–30; Bruneau 1978, 160–90; Meyer 1988, 203–20; Bruneau 1991, 377–88; McLean 1996, 196–205 (who summarizes earlier discussions); Trümper 2002, 265–330.

ties. It should also be noted that the evidence from Delos involves Syrian *merchants* in an economically important centre of the Aegean. These higher levels of involvement in the society of settlement may or may not be consonant with what went on in certain other Syrian associations in this or other locales or periods.

Delos also provides roughly contemporary evidence for another group of expatriots from the Levant, namely "Israelites" or Samaritans, who may or may not have been involved in trade. These inscriptions are particularly important since, to this point, they represent our only evidence for associations of Samaritans in the Hellenistic or early Roman eras. Individual Samaritans are attested in inscriptions from elsewhere, of course, including a Samaritan man who was buried on Rhodes (*IJO* II 11) and several others at Athens or the Piraeus (*IJO* I Ach 35, 36, 37). And there is an interesting case involving a "Samaritan" listed as a member of an ethnically mixed group in the Piraeus, probably a "society" ([οἱ θιασῶ]τα[ι]; *IJO* I Ach 41; fourth or third cent. BCE).

As to the ethnic identities of those labeled "Samaritans," Josephus claims that some Samaritans might identify themselves using the ethnic descriptor of "Sidonians," suggesting a Phoenician connection for some of the population settled in Samaria. However, Josephus also goes on to claim that Samaritans associated with the sanctuary on Mount Gerizim would go so far as to actively identify their god with a Hellenistic deity (Zeus Hellenios; Josephus *Ant.* 12.258–64). Yet a comparable passage in *2 Maccabees* points towards Samaritan hesitancy on precisely such matters, referring to the Samaritans' *refusal* to dedicate their temple on Gerizim to Zeus Xenios ("Protector of Strangers"), along with the Judean refusal to dedicate the Jerusalem temple to Olympian Zeus.[67] So it is difficult to assess what these "Israelites" on Delos would think of themselves in relation to Phoenicians and the cultural landscape of contemporary Hellenistic Syria. What is clear is the continuing attachment to the rites practiced at Gerizim.

Samaritans on Delos are attested in only two inscriptions of the late third or second century BCE. These monuments were found about one hundred meters away from the structure identified as the meeting place of a group of Judeans or Samaritans (GD 80).[68] As in the case of the Tyrians and Berytians on Delos, the Samaritan inscriptions indicate attachments to the cultic life of the homeland. In fact, the group of Samaritans here had incorporated this sense of ethnic and cultic identification within the title of the group itself. The self-designation of the group appears roughly the same in both inscriptions despite the time separation (of between twenty-five and one hundred years) between them, namely, "the Israelites of Delos who contribute to sacred Mount Gerizim" (οἱ ἐν Δήλω Ισραελεῖται οἱ ἀ|παρχόμενοι εἰς ἱερὸν Ἀργα|ριζείν). Here attachments to the religious life of Samaria are expressed not only through mention of the holy site. Connections to the homeland are also indicated in the fact that, at least at some point, the group seems to have financially

67. *2 Macc* 6:2. See Isaac 1991, 136–38, 143 n. 45 and Binder 1999, 471. On problems with the anti-Samaritan bias of our sources (including the crucial 2 Kings 17), see Grabbe 1992, 502–7. Grabbe concludes that the Samaritans continued a "conservative Yahwistic cult" and "there is no more evidence of a pagan origin to Samaritan worship than there is to Jewish worship" (Grabbe 1992, 506).

68. Bruneau 1982, 465–504 = *SEG* 37 (1987), no. 809–10 = *NewDocs* VIII 12a-b. See Trümper 2004, 513–98, who likewise leaves open the possibility of Judean or Samaritan identification (cf. Runesson 2001, 185–87). The early presence of Judeans on Delos is suggested by literary evidence: *1 Macc* 15:15–23; Josephus *Ant.* 14.231–32.

supported the ritual activities at Mount Gerizim in a manner comparable to diaspora Judeans' support of the temple in Jerusalem.[69]

The earlier of the two inscriptions (which dates about 250–175 BCE) involves the Israelites honouring one Menippos from Herakleia—along with his descendants—for his contributions to the group (*NewDocs* VIII 12b = *IJO* I Ach 66). The fact that Menippos had arranged to build and dedicate a "prayer house" (προσευχῆ) "in fulfillment of a vow to God" suggests that he too was a devotee of the God worshipped at Gerizim. This draws attention to the complicated and multiple nature of identities. Either Menippos was a gentile who had come to worship the Israelites' God or he was a Samaritan who migrated first to Herakleia before coming to Delos (either to settle or to visit), likely for business purposes. If the latter, then depending on circumstances Menippos might be identified by others—or identify himself—as a Herakleian,[70] a Delian, a Samaritan, or some combination of these identities, as here. I return to the importance of such multiple identities in chapters 6 and 7.

The later honorary inscription (which dates about 150–128 BCE, or possibly as late as 50 BCE) involves the Israelites' crowning Sarapion, son of Jason, from Knossos (*NewDocs* VIII 12a = *IJO* I Ach 67). This man had made some unspecified benefactions to the group. Here there is no indication that this immigrant from the island of Crete is himself a devotee of the God of the Israelites.

Syrian Immigrants in the Roman Empire

In certain ways, the cultural patterns I have been outlining with regard to some Syrian associations in the Hellenistic era continue into Roman times, although we lack substantial evidence for any one locale comparable to Hellenistic Delos. Syrian settlers from Spain in the West to Greek islands in the East still continued to form associations in their place of settlement as a way of expressing their shared sense of ethnic identity.

In some cases we primarily know of the existence of Syrian associations of the Roman era without having any further significant information regarding how they understood their identities. A fragmentary Greek inscription from Malaca (Malaga) in Spain, for instance, mentions merely a "patron and president of the association of Syrians" (*IG* XIV 2540 = *IGR* I 26).[71] So we need to remain aware of the partial and circumstantial nature of epigraphic evidence and to take care in recognizing the tentative nature of any generalizations that can be made regarding levels of assimilation among Syrian immigrant groups.

Still, other monuments of the Roman era do provide further glimpses of involvements within local networks of benefaction. On the Aegean island of Nisyros (located between the islands of Cos and Rhodes), an association of Syrians devoted to "Aphrodite" is among several associations that honoured a prominent citizen of Nisyros (*IG* XII.3 104 = *IGR* IV

69. Cf. Binder 1999, 473–74. The Samaritan temple was destroyed in 128 BCE (Josephus *Ant.* 13.254–56), but rites likely continued afterwards nonetheless.

70. Among the candidates is the island of Herakleia, south of Delos.

71. Hübner's reconstruction suggests the possibility that this is an "association of Syrians an[d Asians]" (see Ameling 1990, 196).

1110). Gnomagoras was not only a soldier in the Roman army but also a civic magistrate, priest of the civic cult of the emperors, and benefactor of the gymnasium. The inscription specifically points out that he supplied oil not only for citizens but also for settlers (τοῖς κατοικοῦσι) and resident foreigners (τοῖς παρεπιδαμεῦσ|ιν). He is praised for how pleasant he has been "towards all of the associations (τοῖς κοινείοις) which are in Nisyros," including the Syrians.

Such evidence of prominent native citizens engaging in at least occasional positive relations with Syrian immigrant associations, which is also attested at various locales in the Hellenistic era, suggests the real-life reception of "foreigners" could go beyond the sort of ethnic stereotypes and derogatory attitudes found in some contemporary literary sources. Benjamin Isaac's survey of xenophobia in Greek and Roman literature shows that "Phoenicians" were often stereotyped as intelligent (in connection with success in trade) but cruel. Those designated "Syrians," along with others of the East, were sometimes viewed as degenerate, servile, or effeminate.[72] We do need to be careful about assuming that negative stereotypes in the literature were somehow normative or consistent in day-to-day life at particular locales.[73] Furthermore, ethnic labeling of oneself or others does "not automatically entail tension between the ethnic groups," as Koen Goudriaan's study of ethnic groups in Greco-Roman Egypt points out.[74] Despite the need for caution in assessing the social implications of such stereotypes in the literature, I return in the next section to the relevance of such stereotypes for the maintenance and development of ethnic identities.

Turning to Syrians settled in Italy in the Roman imperial era, there are two significant pieces of information pertaining to a group of Tyrians at Puteoli, port city of Rome. First, a fragmentary inscription dating to 79 CE reveals that some Tyrians transferred to Puteoli a statue of their native Phoenician deity, here called "Sareptan Helios" (Sarepta was a town between Sidon and Tyre; *OGIS* 594 = *IGR* I 420).

A second, better-preserved monument from about a century later provides a rare glance at some concrete attachments between these immigrant Phoenicians and their homeland of Tyre, "metropolis of Phoenicia" (*OGIS* 595 = *IGR* I 421; 174 CE).[75] The inscription consists of a letter carried by an emissary from the "settlement" of Tyrians at Puteoli (οἱ ἐν Ποτιόλοις κατοικοῦντες) to civic institutions of Tyre concerning the maintenance of the group's "station" or headquarters. The association of traders characterizes the situation thus:

> This station has long been cared for by the Tyrian settlement in Puteoli, who were many and wealthy, but now our number has dwindled to a few, and in paying for sacrifices and the rites of our ancestral gods (τῶν πατρίων ἡμῶν θεῶν) that are established for worship here in temples, we do not have the means to furnish the rent on the station, 250 denarii per year, especially since the payments for the bull

72. Isaac 2004, 324–51.

73. Isaac focuses almost solely on discriminatory ideas rather than the actual treatment of foreigners, but he does acknowledge this limitation of the work (Isaac 2004, 2, 6–7).

74. Goudriaan 1992, 76.

75. See Sosin 1999, 275–85. For earlier discussions, see La Piana 1927, 254–58; D'Arms 1974, 105; Teixidor 1979.

> sacrifice at the games at Puteoli are charged to us in addition. We entreat, therefore, that you provide for the lasting permanence of the station.[76]

As with many of the Syrian associations of the Hellenistic era, concerns to honour the gods of the homeland stand out here at Puteoli, albeit in regard to the expenses involved in maintaining these cults.

The Tyrian settlement had recently fallen on hard times and, as a result of various other expenses, were apparently unable to pay the yearly fee they owed to maintain possession of their headquarters. Integral to the argument of the emissary as presented in the letter were claims of close connections with the homeland and shared social, economic, and cultural interests among compatriots. The request of this group of immigrants was not uncontested, however.

Joshua D. Sosin's analysis of the partially preserved minutes of the civic assembly at Tyre shows how one Philokles may have been attempting a hostile takeover or simply dissolution of the Puteolian station in favour of the station of Tyrians at Rome itself, which is also mentioned in the minutes.[77] Nevertheless, the Tyrian settlers' erection of this monument shows that the council and people of Tyre sided not with Philokles but with the Tyrians of Puteoli. Tyre itself, it seems, took on the cost of maintaining the station at Puteoli, as Sosin argues.[78] Despite debate at home, then, and despite the potential for competition among associations of immigrants from the same homeland, Tyre itself supported the well-being of its citizens abroad, whose attachments to the homeland could be expressed in various ways. The Tyrians' varied identifications with their homeland and its cultural ways suggests that ethnic identity continued to play a key role in internal identifications and in how this group related to others within the society of settlement.

Ethnic Stereotypes and Identity among Cultural Minority Groups

Earlier I noted that evidence for positive social relations between Syrian immigrants and others within the cities—indicative of some level of integration—should caution us against overestimating the impact of negative stereotypes about such cultural minorities, stereotypes that are reflected in literary sources produced by the elites. As usual, the relationship between literary images or rhetoric and social realities as reflected in archeological evidence is a complicated one which is difficult to evaluate, and we should not assume the priority of literary perspectives.

Although we need to avoid exaggerating such negative perceptions, it is nonetheless important here to discuss the significance of such stereotypes when they were expressed and their functions in relation to issues of identity. This is particularly important in relation to issues of dissimilation and cultural maintenance as I explained those concepts earlier. This discussion would apply not only to stereotyping in relation to Syrian ethnic

76. Trans. Sosin 1999, 278, with adaptations.

77. Sosin 1999, 283.

78. Sosin 1999, 281–84.

groups, of course, but also in relation to other cultural minority groups, including Judeans and followers of Jesus. I return to social categorization and stereotypes in chapter 8, which provides a more extensive discussion of accusations of human sacrifice, cannibalism, and sexual impropriety against Judeans and Christians. As many social-identity theorists note, the perceptions of outsiders and processes of labeling do play at least some role in how cultural minority groups or their members define and redefine themselves in relation to other groups.[79]

Here I discuss two important articles on stereotypes and identity, both of which are informed by Henri Tajfel's (1978, 1981, 1982) social identity theory. One, by Louk Hagendoorn (1993), focusses on the functions of stereotypes for the groups doing the evaluation. The other, by Richard Jenkins (1994), draws attention to the role of external categorization (such as that reflected in stereotypes) in processes of identity reformulation for the groups being negatively evaluated by stereotypes.

Hagendoorn explains the function of ethnic stereotypes in terms of their importance for the social identity of the group that is doing the evaluation. Stereotypes are oversimplified sets or configurations of characteristics attributed to members of a particular out-group (outside group) by an in-group (insiders). They involve "generalized knowledge about social categories and thereby implicitly evaluate these categories."[80] Overall, Hagendoorn argues that "[stereotypes] not only evolve from, but also preserve the values of, the in-group by differentiating the in-group from negatively evaluated out-groups."[81]

Hagendoorn's perspective helpfully integrates anthropological, sociological, and social psychological approaches to social or ethnic categorization and negative stereotypes (such as those associated with prejudice, ethnocentrism, and racism). He explains that in anthropology stereotypes are often explained in terms of *cultural misunderstanding*.[82] Members of an in-group evaluate an outside group's customs and activities using insider values and ways of interpreting cultural meaning. When there are differences in practices and in the modes of cultural interpretation between the groups, misunderstandings in the form of stereotypes result. As Hagendoorn points out, although this accurately explains some elements of ethnic categorization and stereotypes, it needs to be supplemented by other theoretical perspectives.

In sociology, negative stereotypes associated with racism are often viewed as *justifications* for "existing differences in influence, power and wealth between the ethnic majority and the minorities."[83] In other words, a Syrian living in Athens may be characterized negatively by certain Athenian citizens in part because this helps to ensure the superior position of those Athenians in maintaining positions of influence.

A third perspective is offered by social psychology. Hagendoorn draws on social-identity theory as developed by Tajfel to explain that stereotypes are a result of the "search for a favourable self-categorization."[84] Stereotypes serve the "cognitive function" of storing

79. Cf. Nazroo and Karlsen 2003, 903–4.
80. Hagendoorn 1993, 33.
81. Hagendoorn 1993, 34.
82. Hagendoorn 1993, 27–28.
83. Hagendoorn 1993, 31.
84. Hagendoorn 1993, 36.

knowledge and experience in a particular configuration in order to facilitate further social categorization. As such stereotypes are developed and called upon, they serve a "value preservation" function for the in-group (e.g., a Roman author's social group) by implicitly evaluating the characteristics of out-groups (e.g., Syrians, Judeans, Christians, "barbarians") using the values and identity of the in-group as the measuring stick. The entire process takes place in such a way that the superiority of the in-group's (e.g., Romans') cultural values and customs are evaluated as superior, those of the out-group (e.g., Syrians or others) as in some way inferior. In other words, the process of categorizing or labelling others (outsiders or the out-group) is, in fact, a process of internal self-definition.

Furthermore, categorizations of various out-groups take place in a hierarchical manner with different out-groups being ranked, so to speak, in relation to the in-group, which maintains the superior position. Hagendoorn emphasizes the importance of these "ethnic hierarchies" that are indicated by social categorizations of ethnic out-groups.

Jenkins's study furthers our understanding of the impact of such stereotypes on the social identity of the negatively evaluated group, in our case the Syrians or Phoenicians. Building on the insights of Fredrik Barth (1969), Jenkins emphasizes the "transactional nature of ethnicity" and points to two main kinds of transactions. First of all, there are processes of internal self-definition whereby members of a group communicate to one another and to outsiders their own sense of who they are.[85] Second, there are external definitions which involve outsiders' social categorizations of the cultural minority group or its members. These external definitions are often pejorative and can entail negative stereotypes, for the reasons already outlined by Hagendoorn. It is worth noting that there are affinities between this twofold, transactional way of explaining identity and Gregory Stone's (1962) concepts of "identity announcements" (a person's communication of who they are) and "identity placements" (categorizations by others) as more recently employed in studying situational identities among immigrants.[86] Jenkins explains this twofold dynamic in this way:

> whereas social groups define themselves, their name(s), their nature(s) and their boundary(s), social categories are identified, defined and delineated by others. Most social collectivities can be characterized as, to some extent, defined in both ways. Each side of the dichotomy is implicated in the other and social identity is the outcome of the conjunction of processes of internal *and* external definition.[87]

Cultural minorities or ethnic groups, or their individual members, such as the Syrians, Samaritans, Judeans, and Christians discussed in this study, may handle external categorizations in a variety of ways. Yet in virtually all cases the external stereotypes play some role in internal self-definition, according to Jenkins and others.

Jenkins explains this process with the concept of "internalization," as "the categorized group is exposed to the terms in which another group defines it and assimilates that cat-

85. Jenkins 1994, 198–99.

86. See, for instance, Ajrouch and Kusow 2007.

87. Jenkins 1994, 201.

egorization, in whole or in part, into its own identity."[88] This process of internalization may range from the acceptance of outsiders' categorizations insofar as those categories happen to fit the internal self-definition of the group, to open rejection or resistance to the external definitions. However, even in cases of resistance, Jenkins emphasizes, "the very act of defying categorization, of striving for an autonomy of self-identification, is . . . an effect of being categorized in the first place. The rejected external definition *is* internalized, but paradoxically, as the focus of denial."[89]

I would suggest that similar processes of group identity were at work among immigrant associations in antiquity. These insights regarding social and ethnic identity provide a framework for understanding the potential role of stereotypes regarding Syrians, Phoenicians, Judeans, Jesus-followers, and others. Although Isaac's study of "racism" in antiquity does not fully engage the sort of social-scientific theories outlined here, his discussion of Lucian of Samosata's reactions to stereotypes concerning Syrians is useful for our purposes, particularly since the inscriptions do not supply us with clear evidence of how the stereotypes shaped certain aspects of group self-definition in Syrian associations.[90]

In particular, Isaac points to several passages where Lucian is responding in some way to the stereotypes of outsiders in an ambivalent manner. Here there are clear signs of what Jenkins calls internalization, a process that I discussed in connection with Philo and Josephus in chapter 1 and to which I return in connection with Judeans and Christians in chapter 8. On several occasions, Lucian makes reference to his own identity as a Syrian—a Greek-speaking Syrian, in this case, but a "Syrian" from Samosata nonetheless. Often he adopts the perspective of the (Greek or Roman) outsider who would categorize such a person as a "barbarian" based on perceptions of ethnic identity.

In one particularly noteworthy passage Lucian not only shows an adoption of the external stereotypes (though perhaps tongue in cheek), he also evinces what Hagendoorn calls "ethnic hierarchies" or rankings of ethnic groups. Lucian does this when he compares his own identity as a Syrian "barbarian" to the royal philosopher Anarchasis as a Scythian "barbarian": "Well, my own situation is like that of Anacharsis—and please do not resent my likening myself to a man of regal stature, for he too was a barbarian, and no one could say that we Syrians are inferior to Scythians. It isn't on grounds of royalty that I compare my situation with his, but rather because we are both barbarians" (*Scythian* 9; cf. *Fisherman* 19).[91] The phrase "no one could say that we Syrians are inferior to Scythians" indicates Lucian's perception of widely held notions of ethnic hierarchies within the social categorizations of his Greek and Roman elite readers. Comments by ancient ethnographers such as Herodotus confirm a strongly negative portrayal of Scythian and adjacent peoples.[92] Syrians and Scythians are both barbarians, from Lucian's perspective, but there are inferior and less inferior barbarians. Once again it is the in-group (in this case the Greek or Roman perspective internalized by Lucian) that categorizes various ethnic groups using internal

88. Jenkins 1994, 216.

89. Jenkins 1994, 217.

90. Isaac 2004, 341–45.

91. Trans. Harmon 1913–67 (LCL).

92. See, for instance, the discussion of Scythians in Hartog 1988 [1980] and in Dudko 2001–2002.

values and perceptions as the measuring stick of what is inferior or superior. To some extent, a higher ranking on the ethnic hierarchy for a particular ethnic group is a result of a perception of greater similarities between the in-group's (e.g., Greek-speaking elite Greeks' and Romans') values and those of that other ethnic group (e.g., Syrians) in comparison with still other ethnic groups (e.g., Scythians).

Elsewhere Lucian reflects knowledge of the more specific stereotypes of Phoenicians or Syrians as successful in trade, yet through underhanded means (*Ignorant Book-Collector* 19–20). Here again it seems that Lucian has internalized stereotypes about Syrians as lacking in morals. He does not openly oppose or resist the stereotypes. Still, the overall satirical context here and elsewhere may, as Isaac notes, suggest a more subtle attempt to "parody normal attitudes" rather than accepting them fully as a self-identification.[93] Whether assimilating or resisting, as Jenkins clarifies, some internalization of external categories is often at work in the process of self-identification. Similar dynamics may have been at work among associations of Syrians settled elsewhere in the ancient Mediterranean. This would play a role in the maintenance and development of ethnic identities alongside other areas involving acculturation.

Conclusion

This preliminary investigation into processes of identity construction and assimilation among ethnic associations from just one region of the eastern Mediterranean begins to reveal certain recurring patterns. This is the case despite diversity among specific groups from the Levant and the difficulties associated with assessing materials from such a wide geographical and chronological span. Recurring evidence for involvements in the society of settlement and continued attachments to the homeland speak against notions of a general atmosphere of detachment and rootlessness among immigrant populations in the Hellenistic and Roman eras, at least in a number of cases involving Syrian or Phoenician ethnic groups.

Despite status as "foreigners" and the potential for ethnic stereotypes to influence outsiders' perceptions, it seems that members of these Syrian groups would in certain circumstances identify themselves first and foremost as Syrians, Phoenicians, Sidonians, Tyrians, or Berytians. The multiple, flexible, and circumstantial nature of identities means that this expression of ethnic distinctiveness was by no means incompatible with the creation or maintenance of social ties in the society of settlement. These Syrians could also belong within or interact with other subgroups of that society, such as neighbourhoods, districts, and other guilds or associations.

Although worship of the gods of the homeland within these associations is evident virtually across the board, this could also be accompanied by identifications with, and acculturation to, indigenous, Greek, or Roman deities and customs. Conversely, non-Syrians could come to honour Phoenician deities alongside settlers. This situation was illustrated by non-Syrians attending the sanctuary of the Pure Syrian Goddess on Delos

93. Isaac 2004, 343.

and by the presence of the Roman Minatius and his guests at gatherings of the Berytian association.

Alongside cultural maintenance and acculturation, involvements in social networks in the society of settlement indicate areas of structural assimilation, both informal and formal. Syrian associations' links with local non-Syrian benefactors and, in some cases, with civic institutions or authorities could position a particular group closer to the heart of certain webs of power in the Greek city. Often the meagre state of the evidence does not allow evaluation of differing degrees of engagement from one Syrian group to another. This is further complicated by the fact that a number of cases surveyed here involve Syrian mercantile groups in important economic centres at particular points in time. These cases may or may not be indicative of what was going on in other Syrian associations.

Associations of Syrians and other ethnic groups are worthy of study in their own right. Yet these groups also offer models for comparison with other ethnic groups, including gatherings of Judeans as evidenced by inscriptions. The past few decades have witnessed a considerable shift in approaches to the study of the Judean diaspora. This is particularly the case with respect to questions of how Judeans related to the cultural contexts in which they found themselves. Moreover, this has been a scholarly shift away from characterizing life in the diaspora as a choice between strongly maintaining ethnic identity through separation, on the one hand, and accommodating completely to the surrounding culture, on the other. Instead, recent work by Paul R. Trebilco (1991), John M. G. Barclay (1996), Erich Gruen (1998), Shaye J. D. Cohen (1999), Tessa Rajak (2002), and others stresses variety among Judean gatherings. These scholars also draw attention to the complexities involved in Judeans both maintaining a sense of being Judean (or Jewish) and finding a home for themselves in specific locales throughout the Mediterranean world.

The Syrian associations offer analogies for comparison with Judean gatherings, particularly regarding patterns of cultural maintenance and assimilation. Thus, in both cases there is a consistent concern with honouring the god(s) of the homeland alongside involvements within both formal and informal social networks and structures in the place of settlement, as I discuss at some length in connection with Judeans in the next chapter.[94] Flowing from this, there is also considerable evidence that many Syrian and Judean groups adopted local cultural conventions associated with honours and benefaction.[95]

Judeans and, it seems, Samaritans do stand out from other immigrants from the Levant insofar as cultural maintenance often entailed attention to just one God and this usually excluded identifications of that God with deities honoured by others.[96] Yet this should not be exaggerated to the point of neglecting comparison, for there are also variations among particular Syrian associations and particular Judean groups in the specifics of how a given group engaged in honouring its benefactors, both divine and human.

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94. Trebilco 1991; Rajak 2002; Harland 2003a, 213–38.

95. See Harland 2003a, 213–38.

96. Javier Teixidor's notion of the rise of the "supreme god" and "a trend towards monotheism" in Near Eastern and Syrian religion in the Greco-Roman era remains largely unsubstantiated and is not borne out in the case of Syrian or Phoenician associations abroad, it seems. See Teixidor 1977, esp. pp. 13–17; Teixidor 1979.

This preliminary case study suggests that further investigations into immigrant associations of various sorts may provide a more complete picture of where diverse gatherings of Judeans fit on the landscape of cultural minorities in the ancient Mediterranean world. Such comparative investigations may allow us to assess the ways in which particular ethnic associations were involved in the social and cultural traditions of their homelands and of their societies of settlement. Now I turn to a case study of Judeans at Hierapolis in Asia Minor, which further fleshes out some of these dynamics of identity and acculturation.

6

Interaction and Integration

Judean Families and Guilds at Hierapolis

Introduction

Previous chapters on family language and on immigrants show how recent studies of the diaspora are beginning to address regional variations among Judean (Jewish) gatherings and are giving attention to the relationships between these groups and the societies in which they found themselves.[1] Social-scientific approaches to migration and ethnicity can assist us in evaluating issues of identity and the relationships between minority groups, such as Judeans and Christians, and majority cultural groups.

The graves of those who had passed on can also further understanding of such cultural interactions among the living.[2] Leonard Victor Rutgers's study of Judean burials at Rome (second–fourth centuries), for instance, demonstrates this well and finds that instead "of living in splendid isolation or longing to assimilate, the Roman Jews . . . appear as actively and, above all, as self-consciously responding to developments in contemporary non-Jewish society."[3] Careful attention to burial customs in other parts of the empire can offer a new vantage point on questions of acculturation and identity among ethnic groups such as Judean gatherings.

This chapter explores cultural interactions with special attention to Judean epitaphs from Phrygian Hierapolis in Asia Minor in the second and third centuries.[4] After discussing the evidence for Judean associations at this locale, I focus my attention on the recently republished family grave of P. Aelius Glykon and Aurelia Amia (ca. 200 CE).[5] This grave

1. On Asia Minor, see, for example, Trebilco 1991, 167–85; Barclay 1996, 259–81, 320–35; Goodman 1998; Rajak 2002, 335–54, 355–72, 447–62; Harland 2003a.

2. On Judean burial in the diaspora, see, for example, van der Horst 1991; Williams 1994b, 165–82; Strubbe 1994 and 1997; Noy 1998, 75–89.

3. Rutgers 1994, 263.

4. Miranda 1999a, 109–55 (= *IHierapMir*); cf. *SEG* 49 (1999), no. 1814–36.

5. This inscription was recently republished (1992–93) with corrections by Tullia Ritti (formerly *CIJ* 777). I was able to examine the monument (in 2004) thanks to permission from Prof. Francesco D'Andria (director of the Italian Archeological Mission at Hierapolis) and the staff at the Hierapolis museum.

illustrates well the complexity of social and ethnic identities and the potential for interactions between Judeans and their neighbours in the cities of Asia Minor. It involves Glykon's bequest to local guilds of purple-dyers and carpet-weavers in order to regularly perform ceremonies at this family grave on both Judean (Passover and Pentecost) and Roman (Kalends) holidays.

Few scholars fully explore this family grave within the framework of burial practices among Judeans in Hierapolis and in relation to association life in Asia Minor. My approach here has significant implications for issues of ethnic and social identities among Judeans and others in a Greek city (*polis*). In looking at this case, I also work to resolve an ongoing debate regarding the composition of the guilds of purple-dyers and carpet-weavers mentioned in the inscription. While several scholars make known their differing views on the composition or ethnic identity of these groups (Judean, non-Judean, or mixed), few sufficiently investigate this issue in relation to other evidence for the purple-dyers at Hierapolis.

This case also offers opportunity to further examine dynamics of assimilation and cultural maintenance among cultural minority groups in the diaspora, building on the discussion in the previous chapter. Moreover, there are both indications of acculturation to the society of settlement and identifications with the cultural ways of the ancestral land among Judeans at Hierapolis.

Judeans at Hierapolis

Recent discoveries of graves have added to our knowledge of Judeans at Hierapolis. Elena Miranda's publication (1999) includes a total of twenty-three Judean grave inscriptions (out of a total of over 360 epitaphs from Hierapolis published by others). This includes thirteen new Judean inscriptions beyond those previously published by Walther Judeich (in 1898) and by Fabrizio A. Pennacchietti (in 1966–67).[6] Most Judean inscriptions (*IHierapMir* 1–21) were found in the northern necropolis, which was extended from the time of Antoninus Pius (138–161 CE); monuments in that necropolis date mostly from the middle of the second to the third century CE.[7] Two Judean tombs were found elsewhere in the area of the eastern burial grounds (*IHierapMir* 22–23).

The Judean inscriptions range in date from the second half of the second century to the third or fourth centuries based on onomastics, the use of names (especially the presence of Aurelius-related names), and on the forms of the lettering in relation to other dated inscriptions. It is difficult to date them with any more certainty, as none expressly supplies a date, and rarely are named figures known from other sources.

The majority of these Judean inscriptions (eighteen) involves an individual identified as "Judean" (Ἰουδαῖος) making provisions for the burial of him- or herself and family members, without explicit reference to a Judean community or gathering. Almost all of these

6. Those previously published are: *IHierapMir* 5 = *IHierapJ* 69 = *CIJ* 776; no. 6 = *IHierapPenn* 14; no. 8 = *IHierapJ* 72 = *CIJ* 778; no. 9 = *IHierapJ* 97; no. 10 = *IHierapJ* 104; no. 11 = *IHierapPenn* 30; no. 16 = *IHierapJ* 212 = *IGR* IV 834 = *CIJ* 775; no. 20 = *IHierapPenn* 46; no. 22 = *IHierapJ* 295; and no. 23 = *IHierapJ* 342 = *CIJ* 777. *IHierapJ* = Judeich 1898, 67–181. *IHierapPenn* = Pennacchietti 1966–67, 287–328. All twenty-three are also now included, with commentary, in Ameling 2004 (= *IJO* II 187–209).

7. Pennacchietti 1966–67, 293–94; cf. Ritti 1992–93, 42.

*Figure 13. Grave "of the Judeans" from Hierapolis, with a menorah and lion (*IHierapMir *6 = IJO II 187)*

identify the owners of the grave and surrounding area and list other family members that were to be buried there. Several go further in following standard forms of burial inscriptions in this part of Asia Minor by warning that no one else should be buried there and by providing for fines in the event that anyone attempted to do so.[8] Fines were most often payable to local civic institutions, including the "most sacred treasury" (ταμῖον) of Hierapolis or, in one case, the civic elders' organization (γερουσίᾳ).[9] Several of those that specify fines also mention that a copy of the inscription was placed in the civic archives (ἀρχεῖον),[10] which was another important formal institution in the Greek cities of Asia Minor. The act of placing a copy of these stipulations in the civic archives is suggestive of the formal legal procedures that would be followed in the event that provisions for care and protection of the grave were violated in some way.[11] These institutional factors point to areas of structural assimilation that I return to below.

Several inscriptions (three, or perhaps four, of the twenty-three) use terminology suggestive of an association of Judeans, providing the only available information about gatherings of Judeans at Hierapolis and the self-designations that these groups used (*IHierapMir* 5, 6, 14b, 16). The epitaph pictured in figure 13, which is inscribed with the plural possessive

8. *IHierapMir* 1, 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10, 18, 19, 21.

9. *IHierapMir* 1 (γερουσία), 2, 4, 7, 8, 9, 10a, 18, 19, 21.

10. *IHierapMir* 1, 2, 5, 8, 10, 18, 19, 21.

11. On grave violation (τυμβωρυχία) in Asia Minor, see *IHierapJ* 275, 312 (cf. *IIasos* 376, 392). *IHierapJ* 195, which also involves guilds, more directly indicates this legal context in providing a reward (of 800 denaria) for the "one prosecuting the case" for violation. See also Gerner 1941, 230–75, esp. pp. 250–58, and Strubbe 1991, 48 n. 9. For Judean references to the crime, see *IJO* II 146 (Thyatira), 174 (Akmoneia).

*Figure 14. Grave mentioning the "people of the Judeans" at Hierapolis (*IHierapMir 5 = IJO *II 206)*

"(Grave) of the Judeans" (Ἰουδέων [*sic*]), alongside the depiction of a menorah and lion, likely refers to a *family* of Judeans, rather than an association (*IHierapMir* 6 = *IJO* II 187; cf. *IHierapMir* 10). Still, there are three other definite references to associations of Judeans.

Interestingly enough, each of the three epitaphs uses different self-designations for the groups in question. In one, a woman and a man explicitly identify themselves as belonging to the "people (τῷ λαῷ) of the Judeans" and make fines for violation of their grave payable to this group (see photo in figure 14):

> The grave and the burial ground beneath it together with the base and the place belong to Aurelia Glykonis, daughter of Ammianos, and her husband Marcus Aurelius Alexander Theophilos, also known as Aphelias, of the Judeans. They will be buried in it, but it is not lawful for anyone else to be buried in it. If this is violated, the guilty one will pay a fine of 1000 denaria to the people of the Judeans (τῷ λαῷ | τῶν Ἰουδαίων).[12] A copy of this inscription was placed in the archives (*IHierapMir* 5 = *IJO* II 206; late second or third cent. CE).[13]

12. The designation λαός for a group is quite well attested in epigraphy for Judeans (cf. *CIJ* 662, 699–702, 704–8, 720; *ISmyrna* 296; *DFSJ* 31 = *IJO* II 26).

13. Trans. mine. Here and in the following inscriptions I follow Miranda's readings of the text. Miranda (1999a) suggests the second half of the second century or early third based on the lettering and the onomastics (presence of Aurelia); Ameling (2004) dates this to the second half of the second century.

The Judean couple of this epitaph is following the standard form of burial inscriptions at Hierapolis, providing for fines to be paid for violation, in this case to a local association to which they presumably belonged.

A second inscription refers to the "settlement" (κατοικίᾳ) of Judeans in Hierapolis:

> This grave and the surrounding place belong to Aurelia Augusta, daughter of Zotikos. In it she, her husband, who is called Glykonianos, also known as Hagnos, and their children will be buried. But if anyone else is buried here, the violator will pay a fine of 300 denaria to the settlement of the Judeans who are settled in Hierapolis (τῇ κατοικίᾳ τῶν ἐν Ἱεραπόλει κατοικούντων Ἰουδαί|ων) and 100 denaria to the one who found out about the violation. A copy of this inscription was placed in the archives of the Judeans (*IHierapMir* 16 = *IJO* II 205; mid- to late second cent. CE).[14]

Here the group is described with terminology that is commonly used by ethnically based associations. This is especially well attested in the case of associations of Romans (οἱ κατοικοῦντες Ρωμαῖοι), such as the "settlement" of Romans that existed at nearby Phrygian Apameia (northeast of Hierapolis) from the first to the third century, at least.[15] This suggests that "Judeans" or "those from Judea"—with intertwined geographic, ethnic, and cultural implications—is the best way to translate the term here, as elsewhere. The seemingly redundant "settlement of Judeans who are settled in Hierapolis" also further suggests this sense of settled immigrants originally from elsewhere, involving migration either in this generation or some previous generation.

This inscription includes the common provision for storage of a copy of the inscription, but in this case this is expressly the archives "of the Judeans" rather than the civic archives. Use of the civic archives was the norm in other Judean (and non-Judean) inscriptions. This particular grave suggests a well-established Judean group (by the mid to late second century), such that it would begin to maintain its own archives for a time in imitation of the civic model.

One face (side b) of a third inscription, now published for the first time by Miranda, refers to a group of Judeans as "the most holy synagogue":

> *(Side a)*
> The grave, the burial ground beneath it, and the area around it belong to Nikotimos Lykidas, son of Artemisios. In it he has buried Apphia, his wife. A copy of this inscription was placed into the archives (τὸ ἀρχεῖον). Judean (Ἰουδαηκή).
>
> *(Side b)*
> The grave and the place around it belong to Aur. Heortasios Julianus, Tripolitan, Judean, now living in Hierapolis (Τριπολείτου Ἰουδέου, νοῖν οἰκο<ῦ>ντ[ος] | ἐν

14. Trans. mine. This rough date is once again based on the presence of the *gentilicium* Aurelius.

15. *IGR* IV 785–86, 788–91, 793–94; *MAMA* VI 177 (ca. 65–69 CE), 183. Cf. *CIG* 2287 (Athenians on Delos) and *OGIS* 595 = *CIG* 5853 (Tyrian merchants at Puteoli).

> Εἱεραπόλι [*sic*]). In it he and his wife, Glykonis, will be buried, and let their children be buried here as well. It is not lawful for anyone other to be buried in it. If someone does such things, he will pay two silver coins to the most holy synagogue (τῇ ἁγιωτά|τῃ συναγωγῇ) (*IHierapMir* 14 = *IJO* II 191; *side a*, late second century CE; *side b*, third or fourth cent. CE).[16]

The earlier of the two sides of the monument (side a) mentions only that the family members buried there were "Judean," and does not mention a community. The reverse of the original inscription (side b) pertains to a family of Judeans whose relation to those buried earlier is unclear. The family's identification of Aur. Heortasios Julianus as both "Tripolitan" and "Judean," alongside his current status as a settler in Hierapolis, illustrates the potential for multiple social and ethnic identities. I return to this at various points in this study, particularly in connection with Glykon below and in chapter 7. This man was a previous inhabitant, or perhaps citizen, of nearby Tripolis.[17] The family assigns any potential fines to "the most holy synagogue." The descriptive term "most holy" (ἁγιοτατ-) and its synonyms are common self-designations among associations and civic bodies in Asia Minor and in Hierapolis specifically, which suggests other dimensions of acculturation to local custom on the part of this gathering of Judeans.[18]

Overall, then, the evidence from Hierapolis indicates that there was a notable number of Judeans living in this city in the period from the mid-second to the third or fourth century who openly identified themselves as such on their family tombs. Through the accidents of survival and discovery, we happen to encounter about twenty or so families who felt it was important to express Judean aspects of their identities in this way (two of them decorating their graves with a menorah or other related symbols). There was at least one ongoing gathering or association of Judeans, though few families chose to mention such an association on their epitaphs. By the late second century, an association of Judeans was organized enough to have its own archives. Still many of the known Judean epitaphs generally follow local custom in having copies of the inscription placed in, and/or fines for violation payable to, civic institutions of Hierapolis.

The Family Tomb of P. Aelius Glykon and Aurelia Amia

One epitaph at Hierapolis does not explicitly use the term "Judean," nor does it refer to an established Judean association. Instead, it clearly indicates Judean connections by referring

16. Miranda's (1999a, 125) dating depends primarily on the forms of the lettering in relation to other dated monuments at Hierapolis. Ameling (2004, 408) proposes that side b may date from the fourth century based on the use of *litra*, which Robert (1946, 106) suggested was characteristic of the fourth or fifth centuries.

17. Although likely the local Tripolis (cf. *IHierapPenn* 22), there are known cities of the same name in Pontus, in Syria, and in North Africa. Cf. Leon 1995 [1960], 153–54, 240 (Tripolitan synagogue at Rome).

18. Cf. *IHierapJ* 40, 41, 342; *IHierapPenn* 25.

*Figure 15. Grave of P. Aelius Glykon and Aurelia Amia, involving guilds of carpet-weavers and purple-dyers (*IHierapMir *23* = IJO *II 196)*

to holy days, or festivals. The family grave of P. Aelius Glykon and Aurelia Amia dates to the late second or early third century of our era, based on the wife's family name, Aurelia, and the forms of the lettering.[19] As shown in figure 15, this is a limestone sarcophagus (with a partially damaged lid) inscribed on its long side (facing northwest).[20] It is located in the southeastern necropolis of Hierapolis near the remains of the Martyrium of St. Philip, with no other surviving graves in its immediate vicinity. Tullia Ritti's rediscovery and thorough new reading of the inscription, which was first inadequately published in 1868, has significantly filled in previous gaps, including the important reference to the feast of Kalends in lines 9–10 and to the name of Glykon's wife.[21]

The inscription provides important evidence regarding cultural identities and the nature of Judean interactions with others in the Greek city. It reads as follows:

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19. Cf. Ritti 1992–93, 48; Miranda 1999a, 132; Ameling 2004, 416.

20. Measurements: Bottom: approx. 239 cm long, 93 cm tall, and 135 cm wide. Lid: approx. 74 cm tall at its high point. Lettering: approx. 4 cm. The sarcophagus is located at the beginning point of the main gap between two hills near where the main walkway to the Martyrium of St. Philip (now) ends and the staircase ascending to the martyrium begins.

21. Previously partial or undocumented were line 1, much of line 2, lines 9–10, part of line 11, and line 13. For a list of publications of the *original reading* (= *CIJ* 777), which followed and corrected Wagener 1868, 1 (=Wagener 1873, 379–80.), see Ritti 1992–93, or Miranda 1999a, 131–32, no. 23. *New reading:* Ritti 1992–93; *AE* (1994), no. 1660; *SEG* 46 (1996), no. 1656; Labarre and Le Dinahet 1996, 102–3, no. 62; Miranda 1999b, 58–59, no. 23, and Miranda 1999a, 131–32, no. 23; Dittmann-Schöne 2000, 226–27, no. V.5.10; *IJO* II 196 (Ameling 2004).

> This grave and the burial ground beneath it together with the surrounding place belong to Publius Aelius Glykon Zeuxianos Aelianus[22] and to Aurelia Amia, daughter of Amianos Seleukos. In it he will bury himself, his wife, and his children, but no one else is permitted to be buried here. He left behind 200 denaria for the grave-crowning ceremony to the most holy presidency of the purple-dyers (τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ προεδρίᾳ τῶν πορφυραβάφων στεφα|νωτικο[ῦ]), so that it would produce from the interest enough for each to take a share in the seventh month during the festival of Unleavened Bread (τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν ἀζύμων). Likewise he also left behind 150 denaria for the grave-crowning ceremony to the sanhedrin of carpet-weavers (τῷ συνε|δρίῳ τῶν ἀκαιροδαπισ<τ>ῶν), so that the revenues from the interest should be distributed, half during the festival of Kalends (τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν καλανδῶν) on eighth day of the fourth month and half during the festival of Pentecost (τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς). A copy of this inscription was placed in the archives (Ritti 1992–93 [published 1996] = *IHierapMir* 23 = *IJO* II 196, revising *CIJ* 777; see note for full Greek text).[23]

Judean Aspects of Identity

The request that customary grave ceremonies be held on two Judean holidays clearly points to this family's identification with Judean cultural ways. Glykon has consciously made a decision that his death (and that of his family members) be commemorated indefinitely on the feasts of Unleavened Bread (in the month of Nisan [March-April]) and on Pentecost (the spring harvest festival), two of the most important Judean festivals.[24] The inscription nowhere identifies the owner (Glykon) as "Judean," as do some other Judean epitaphs at Hierapolis, but this would be unnecessary in light of the explicit mention of Judean holy days.[25]

There is the question, then, of whether Glykon and his family descend from immigrants from Judea (or themselves migrated from Judea) or whether they were gentiles who adopted Judean practices ("Judaizers" as they are sometimes labelled in the literature) and then arranged that others (guild members) also engaged in these practices after their deaths. We cannot know for sure. As Ritti notes, seemingly "non-Judean" elements in the inscription which entail local or Roman practices, including the grave-crowning cere-

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22. Or, possibly: "P. Aelius Glykon, son of Zeuxis Aelianus" (cf. Ameling 2004, 416).

23. [ἡ] σορὸς καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ αὐτὴν θέμα σὺν τῷ βαθρικῷ καὶ τῷ περικειμένῳ τό|πῳ Ποπλίου Αἰλίου Γλύκωνος Ζευξιανοῦ Αἰλια[νοῦ καὶ Αὐ]ρηλίας Ἀμίας | Ἀμιανοῦ τοῦ Σελεύκου, ἐν ᾗ κηδευθήσεται αὐτὸς καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ | καὶ τὰ τέκνα αὐτῶν, ἑτέρῳ δὲ οὐδενὶ ἐξέσται κηδευθῆναι. Κατέλι|ψεν δὲ [κα]ὶ τῇ σεμνοτάτῃ προεδρίᾳ τῶν πορφυραβάφων στεφα|νωτικο[ῦ] (δηνάρια) διακόσια πρὸς τὸ δίδοσθαι ἀπὸ τῶν τόκων ἑκάστῳ τὸ | αἱροῦν μη(νὸς) ζ′ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν ἀζύμων. ὁμοίως κατέλιπεν καὶ τῷ συνε|δρίῳ τῶν ἀκαιροδαπισ<τ>ῶν στεφανωτικοῦ (δηνάρια) ἑκατὸν πεντήκοντα, ἅτι| *vac.* να καὶ αὐτοι δώσουσι ἐκ τοῦ τόκου | διαμερίσαντες τὸ ἥμισυ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν καλανδῶν, μη(νὸς) δ′, η′, καὶ τὸ ἥμισυ ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῆς πεντηκοστῆς. | ταύτης τῆς ἐπιγραφῆς τὸ ἀντίγραφον ἀπε<τέ>θη ἐν τοῖς ἀρχείοις.

24. See Barclay 1996, 415–16, on Judean festivals in the diaspora. Cf. Josephus *Ant.* 14.256–58 and 16.45; Reynolds 1977, 244–45, no. 17 (feast of Tabernacles at Berenike, Cyrenaica, ca. 24 CE).

25. Cf. Ritti 1992–93, 59.

monies and the celebration of the Roman New Year, can readily be understood within the framework of a Judean family well adapted to life in Greco-Roman Hierapolis.[26] In this chapter, I approach the inscription with this Judean immigrant status as the principle working hypothesis.

This is not to discount the possibility that Glykon and his family were gentiles with a significant level of involvement in Judean practices, along the lines of the "god-fearers" in Aphrodisias in the fourth century (*IJO* II 14).[27] Shaye J. D. Cohen (1989) surveys a range of possibilities for gentiles' interactions with Judeans ("Jews" in his terms) or with the Judean God, ranging from admiring some aspect of Judean cultural ways, to participating in certain Judean practices, to full adoption of Judean ways (including circumcision). He helpfully distinguishes between the potential participation of gentiles in certain Judean practices, such as festivals, and gentiles who recognize the God of the Judeans to the exclusion of all other gods, which may be relevant to the discussion further below of membership in the guilds. In the event that Glykon was a gentile adopting Judean practices and then arranging for others to participate in some way in the Judean festivals, then we would be witnessing signs of *en*culturation into the Judean minority group on the part of a non-Judean rather than acculturation of Judeans to local or Greco-Roman ways.[28] The problem is that, unlike the case of the "god-fearers" attested in an inscription from Aphrodisias, nothing in the Glykon inscription itself provides a basis for building a solid case that Glykon or his family was *gentile rather than Judean*.[29]

Although there is no clear evidence that Glykon was a gentile, there is indeed corroborating evidence that some members of the purple-dyers' guild mentioned in this inscription were gentiles. The discussion here explores multiple and intertwined facets of identities in the case of this family and the purple-dyers' guild. In the conclusion, I return to the implications for acculturation depending on whether Glykon was a Judean or a gentile adopting Judean cultural customs.

Roman Facets of Identity and the Feast of Kalends

Alongside this family's clear identification with Judean cultural ways are various signs of intertwined Hierapolitan, Hellenistic, and Roman elements, which I explore now. As previous chapters show, Judean identities were by no means incompatible with a sense of belonging within cities in the Greco-Roman world. Before considering indications of assimilation to local cultural life in Hierapolis, which inevitably also involves intertwined Roman elements, it is important to note Roman aspects of identity specifically.

First, P. Aelius Glykon's name indicates that he is a Roman citizen. If the inscription predates or immediately follows the universal grant of citizenship in 212 CE (*Constitutio*

26. Ritti 1992–93, 59–60.

27. On the fourth- or fifth-century dating, now see Chaniotis 2002, 209–42.

28. On possible cases of gentile judaizing in Asia Minor and Syria based on Christian literary evidence, see Murray 2004.

29. On the difficulties in identifying inscriptions as Judean, Christian, or pagan, see Kraemer 1989; Williams 1997; Ameling 2004, 16–20. Miranda (1999a, 144–45) is attracted by the hypothesis that Glykon was a "Jewish sympathizer" but admits the difficulties here.

Antoniniana), as most suggest, then Glykon's choice to include his *tria nomina* (three names = praenomen, nomen, and cognomen) indicates some sense of pride in possessing the status of Roman citizen.[30] It is possible that Glykon or his ancestors were formerly slaves who gained Roman citizenship upon manumission, though there is nothing in the inscription or from other sources relating to Hierapolis that would confirm that. With regard to this man's cognomen or personal name, Glykon, it is worth mentioning that personal names with the root Glyk- ("sweet") are very common in Hierapolis and Phrygia generally, and that this was likewise quite common among Judeans at Hierapolis, including those mentioned on some other Judean graves at Hierapolis.[31] This may well point to Glykon's place of birth as Hierapolis or somewhere else in Phrygia, suggesting that he is not a first generation immigrant. So even this man's name indicates Roman and Hierapolitan or Phrygian dimensions of his identities.

Beyond Roman citizenship, we lack clear indications of Glykon's social-economic status within Hierapolis. Still, it is worth mentioning that most monuments in which a family provides a foundation to a local association or guild to perform grave ceremonies, the deceased (or deceased-to-be) was a Roman citizen with some degree of wealth. Glykon's total amount of 350 denaria (200 plus 150) for the grave-crowning ceremonies (στεφανωτικόν) is greater than, yet comparable to, the case of Aurelius Zotikos Epikratos, who gave 150 denaria to the guild (συντεχνίᾳ) of nail-workers (*IHierapJ* 133). On the other hand, Glykon's foundation is less than Publius Aelius Hermogenes' substantial grant of 1,000 denaria to the guild of dyers (*IHierapJ* 195). Tiberius Claudius Kleon, whose position as high-priest suggests he is among the civic elites,[32] donated the largest attested amount for a grave-crowning ceremony at Hierapolis, granting the sum 2,500 denaria to the civic elders' organization (*IHierapJ* 234). So Glykon is among many other Roman citizens there, some of higher and others of lower social-economic or civic status. We do not know whether he was a citizen of Hierapolis and, if so, whether he was among the civic elites who assumed important offices.

A second, more significant sign of Roman cultural ways has been revealed only with the new edition of the epitaph. Glykon chooses to have his family remembered not only on principal Judean holidays, but also on the feast of Kalends, the Roman New Year celebration (held in January). Glykon leaves funds (150 denaria) to the sanhedrin of carpet-weavers, specifying that half of the proceeds from the foundation be used during the feast of Kalends and half during Pentecost.

It is important to say a few words regarding this Roman New Year festival to assess

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30. Of the twenty-three Judean epitaphs at Hierapolis, sixteen (including the Glykon inscription) provide a name that suggests Roman citizenship, and five of these are dated to the post–212 CE era by Miranda. Eleven are potentially cases of Judeans with Roman citizenship before the universal grant (mainly in the late second or early third cent. CE).

31. See *IHierapMir* 5, 11, 14, and 16 (cited earlier). See Miranda's discussion of onomastics among Judeans at Hierapolis (Miranda 1999a, 136–40).

32. Compare the high-priest Tiberius Claudius Zotikos Boa, who also held other important civic offices or liturgies including στρατηγός ("general"), ἀγωνοθέτης ("festival organizer") and πρεσβευτής ("elder"). He was honoured by both the "most sacred guild of wool-cleaners" and the "most sacred guild of purple-dyers" on two separate monuments (*IHierapJ* 40, 41; probably third century).

its significance here at Hierapolis. The sparseness of our evidence for the celebration of this particular Roman festival in Asia Minor makes the Glykon inscription all the more relevant to issues of provincial cultural exchanges in relation to Roman cultural practices ("Romanization," to use the traditional term).[33] Michel Meslin's study of the festival emphasizes two complementary dimensions: the official ("civic") and the unofficial ("private," in his terms).[34] The official side of the festival was focussed on vows for the well-being of Rome and its empire as one year ended and the new began. Pliny the Younger provides some limited evidence that this aspect of the festival was celebrated in northern Asia Minor (Bithynia and Pontus) by the early second century (Pliny *Ep.* 10.35–36, 100–101; cf. Suetonius *Nero* 46.4). The Glykon inscription now confirms the continuing adoption of this festival in another area of Asia Minor a number of decades later.

There were also unofficial dimensions to the Roman New Year festival, which would likely be of greater relevance to the situation within a local guild at Hierapolis. These informal celebrations were "anchored in the collective psyche of the Romans" and charged with social and cultic significance, as Meslin puts it.[35]

Although the festival originally focussed its attention on the old Italian god Janus (two-faced protector of doors), its significance expanded beyond this focus. Ovid's famous poetic tribute to the Roman festivals (the *Fasti*), written in honour of Augustus, emphasizes the exchanges of "good wishes" and gifts which accompanied the celebration, including "sweet" gifts (e.g., dates, figs, honey), as well as cash, indicating an omen of a sweet year to come (Ovid *Fasti* 1.171–94). Ovid also alludes to the common practice of workers dedicating their occupational activities in connection with the commencement of the new year (*Fasti* 1.169–70), which may be of relevance to workers such as the carpet-weavers at Hierapolis. A statement by Herodian, a third-century Greek historian, confirms the importance of "exchanging friendly greetings and giving each other the pleasure of interchanging gifts" (Herodian *Hist.* 1.16.2). If Tertullian's negative assessment of Christians participating in New Year's gift giving as "idolatry" is any indication, the exchange of gifts (*strenae*) specifically remained prominent as the festival made its way into the provinces, at least in regions such as North Africa around the turn of the third century.[36]

It is likely these social aspects of celebrating the end of the old year and the beginning of the new, exchanging positive wishes and gifts, remained the focus of attention in many settings, including this case at Hierapolis. Not surprisingly, diaspora Judean attitudes and practices in relation to such festivals could extend beyond the views expressed in rabbinic writings (in the *Abodah Zarah* tractates).[37] Rabbinic sources simply assume that Judeans

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33. Beginning in about 9 BCE and continuing at least into the second century, another new year's celebration was held in the province of Roman Asia on the birthday of Augustus (September 23), and associations were sometimes involved in those celebrations (*IPergamon* 374; and *IEph* 3801). See Price 1984, 54–55; Harland 2003a, 94–95, 102.

34. For the following see Meslin (1970, 23–50) and Nilsson (1916–19, 54–55), who also notes the involvement of *collegia* in the celebrations.

35. Meslin 1970, 23 (trans. from the French is mine).

36. Tertullian *On Idolatry* 10 and 14; cf. *On Military Crowns* 12.3; *Apology* 35.7. On gifts (*strenae*) see Suetonius *Augustus* 57, *Tiberius* 34, *Caligula* 42.

37. Compare Tessa Rajak's (2002 [1985], 358–62) discussion of diaspora Judeans and Greco-Roman festivals, although she did not have this case available to her.

should distance themselves from any relation to major gentile festivals, including Kalends specifically.[38]

Funerary Practices and Associations in Asia Minor

The nature of this family's acculturation to local funerary customs can be better understood in relation to other Judeans in the city and in relation to other (non-Judean) Hierapolitans who involved guilds in funerary provisions. Glykon's choice to include guilds in funerary commemorations on Judean and Roman festivals excluded—whether incidentally or not—the local Judean association from any direct relation to the burial and upkeep of the family grave. Glykon was certainly not alone in failing to even mention the local Judean association on his epitaph, however. Many other known Judean and non-Judean epitaphs make no mention of any local association or synagogue with which the family was affiliated.

A discussion of funerary involvements among associations (including Judean groups) in western Asia Minor will provide important context here, pointing toward common burial customs shared by Judeans (or possibly gentile "Judaizers") such as Glykon and his family.[39] There were three main ways in which guilds and other associations participated in grave-related activities. First, associations could play a role in the burial of their members, sometimes collecting ongoing fees for later use in funerary related expenses (actual burial or funerary banquets, for instance).[40] Local custom varied in the details and in the importance of this role, however. There is limited evidence that associations in some regions of Asia Minor might also have their own *collective* tomb or burial plot for this purpose. This was the case with the guild of flax-workers at Smyrna, who received a vault as a donation, and the guild of bed-builders at Ephesos, who dedicated a common burial plot.[41] As with associations generally, it seems that collective burial by association was not the norm among Judeans in the diaspora. Instead, the shared *family* tomb was common among both Judeans and non-Judeans in Asia Minor (including those who happened to belong to an association).

Still, there is one clear Judean example of collective burial from Tlos in Lycia (in southern Asia Minor) that should be mentioned. There a man named Ptolemais adopted this local, Tlosian practice by preparing a common burial area (ἡρῷον) for his son and for "all the Judeans" (first century CE).[42] This inscription plays a role in a recent debate regarding how common were such collective "Judean cemeteries" in the first two centuries (before the catacombs of Rome). J. H. M. Strubbe draws on the clear Tlos case to argue for the commonality of collective Judean grave plots in Asia Minor (using other less solid evidence

38. Cf. Hadas-Lebel 1979, 426–41; *y. Abod. Zar.* 1.1, II.E; *b. Abod. Zar.* 1.3.

39. On funerary practices, see Strubbe 1991, 1994, and 1997. On the role of associations in the Greek East see, for example, van Nijf 1997, 31–69, and Dittmann-Schöne 2000, 82–93.

40. Cf. Artemidoros *Oneir.* 5.82.

41. *ISmyrna* 218; *IEph* 2213; *IKilikiaBM* II 190–202; *IKos* 155–59; Fraser 1977, 58–70. Also see van Nijf 1997, 43–49.

42. *IJO* II 223 = *CIJ* 757 = *TAM* II 612.

along the way).[43] On the other hand, David Noy argues that "the existence of separate Jewish burial areas before the catacombs seems on the whole fairly unlikely."[44] I would suggest that forms of Judean burial would be dependent on variations in local practice among associations and, in fact, at least two epitaphs from Tlos appear to confirm this point. Like the Judean epitaph, they involve a collective burial area (ἡρῷον). Each lists names (with no mention of familial relation among the names) of those who are to be buried within it, likely members of associations (*TAM* II 604 and 615). Margaret H. Williams makes similar observations regarding local variations in how specific Judean families adopted burial practices from the local ("gentile") populations, which varied from one locale to the next.[45]

Having noted this role of associations in the burial of individual members and a few cases of common burial by association, it is important to point out that there are many epitaphs that simply do not refer to such groups at all. So the Judeans at Hierapolis who failed to mention any affiliation with a Judean association or who did not involve a local guild in funerary arrangements there are not out of the ordinary in this respect.

A second funerary role involves associations being named as recipients of fines for any violation of the grave alongside other civic institutions (e.g., civic treasury, council, people, elders' organization), or alone. Several guilds at Kyzikos are designated as recipients of any fines for violation of the grave, for instance, and a similar picture emerges at Smyrna. There two different families chose an association of porters who worked in the harbour.[46] So in some ways the synagogue leader at Smyrna in the second or third century (a woman named Rufina) was following local custom when she made fines for violation of her household's grave payable to the "most sacred treasury" of Smyrna (1,500 denaria) and to an association (1,000 denaria), in this case the "people" (ἔθνος, *ethnos*) of the Judeans of which she was a leader or benefactor.[47]

A third area of funerary involvement on the part of associations in Asia Minor entails groups being designated recipients of a foundation that made them responsible for visiting and maintaining the grave, including yearly (or more frequent) ceremonies at the site.[48] It was not necessarily the case that the owner of the grave was a member of the association in question, as cases involving multiple guilds also suggest (e.g., *IHierapJ* 133, 227). It seems that the more important factor in decision making (on the part of the deceased-to-be or family members of the deceased) concerned choosing a group that could indeed be trusted to help protect the grave and fulfill other obligations, and sometimes this was a group to which a family member belonged.

Several inscriptions from Ephesos illustrate this function of associations, for instance. In one first-century epitaph, a silversmith and his wife designate the "sanhedrin" of

43. Strubbe 1994, 101–2.

44. Noy 1998, 81.

45. Williams 1994b, 173–74.

46. *IKyzikos* 97, 211, 291 (marble-workers, clothing-cleaners, and porters); *ISmyrna* 204, 205; cf. *IAlexTroas* 122 (coppersmiths, second cent. CE), 151–52 (porters).

47. *ISmyrna* 295 = *IJO* II 43 = *CIJ* 741. Cf. *IJO* II 154, 157 (Nikomedia, third cent. CE). It is worth mentioning that the self-designation ἔθνος is also used by other guilds and associations (e.g., *PKöln* 260, line 3; second cent. BCE).

48. On grave visitation, see Garland 2001, 104–20. On Roman burial practices, see Toynbee 1971, 61–64. On crowns, see Goodenough 1953–68, 7.148–71.

silversmiths as recipient for any fines, but they also leave behind specific funds so that the group can "take care of" (κήδεται) the grave site (*IEph* 2212).[49] In another, a physician and his wife leave behind an endowment for the "sanhedrin of physicians in Ephesos who meet in the museum" (μουσεῖον) to take care of the grave (*IEph* 2304). Quite important for present purposes regarding interaction and acculturation is the family epitaph of a chief physician at Ephesos (named Julius), who asked that "the Judeans in Ephesos" (not the sanhedrin of physicians) maintain the tomb.[50] It is unclear as to whether Julius was a Judean or not. Either way, Judeans are participating in local customs in places like Ephesos.

Along similar lines, a devotee of the Judean God (either a Judean or a Christian) in third-century Akmoneia donated several tools to "the neighbourhood of those near the first gateway" (*IJO* II 171).[51] He did so on condition that this neighbourhood association yearly decorated his wife's grave with roses (ῥοδίσαι), most likely performing the Roman ceremony of *rosalia*, which often included a banquet.[52] This offers an interesting parallel to Glykon's request to have grave-crowning ceremonies held on the Roman New Year, led by the carpet-weavers' association.[53] In both cases a traditionally Roman festival is adapted to local custom (involving associations) by families devoted to the Judean God, presumably omitting practices that would evoke honours for other deities (namely, sacrifice).

Guilds at Hierapolis and the Purple-dyers' Identities

Turning to Hierapolis specifically, it is important to give some sense of what role the guilds played in funerary practices there, which will then shed more light on the significance of Glykon's decision to include guilds (and the purple-dyers in particular) in his bequest. Of the sixteen extant inscriptions that refer to occupational associations at Hierapolis, ten

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49. Cf. *IEph* 2402 (potters), 2446 (linen-workers).

50. *IEph* 1677 = *IJO* II 32 = *CIJ* 745 (second cent. CE). See *IEurJud* I 76 from Venosa for another Judean chief physician.

51. The inscription uses the so-called Eumeneian formula, which stipulates that violators will have "to reckon with the justice of God." The formula is now known to be used by both Judeans and Christians, contrary to Ramsay's (1895–97, 520) claim of Christian identification. Robert (1960b, 409–12) thought that the owner of the grave was probably Judean, based on the "Semitic" name of the man (Math[i]os) who sold the plot to Aur. Aristeas (assuming that they were "co-religionists") and on the absence of other evidence of Christians in third-century Akmoneia (cf. Trebilco 1991, 78–80; Strubbe 1994, 72–73). For Judeans at Akmoneia, see *IJO* II 168–78. For Christians, see *MAMA* VI 336.

52. On associations and the *rosalia* festival in the Greek East, see *IG* X.2 260; Dimitsas 1896, no. 920; *CIL* III 703, 704, 707 (from Macedonia); *IPergamon* 374B; *CIG* 3874; *IKlaudiupolis* 115; *INikaia* 62, 95, 1283, 1422; *SEG* 49 (1999), no. 1790 and 2508 (from Asia Minor). Cf. Perdrizet 1900, 299–323; Trebilco 1991, 80–81. On *collegia* in the Latin West see Toynbee 1971, 61–64; Lattimore 1962, 137–41 (cf. *CIL* V 2090, 2176, 2315, 4015, 4017, 4448).

53. On the use of crown symbolism in Judean art, architecture, and literature, see Goodenough 1953–68, 7.149–52. For Judean adaptation of granting crowns as a form of honour for living benefactors, see *IJO* II 36 (Phokaia or Kyme; third cent. CE) and Bruneau 1982, 465–504; *NewDocs* VIII 12 (Samaritans on Delos; second-first BCE).

are epitaphs, and six of these expressly involve a guild or guilds in some ongoing grave ceremonies or superintendence of the grave (including the Glykon inscription). Most of these (four) involve the local practice of providing "funds for the grave-crowning" (στεφανωτικόν), which in this form of expression seems peculiar to the Lycos valley, primarily Hierapolis.[54] Another refers to the responsibility of a guild—purple-dyers or, if they fail, the livestock dealers—in "burning the incense (τῶν παπων) on the customary day" (*IHierapJ* 227b; ca. 190–250 CE). Furthermore, five of the ten epitaphs also mention guilds as recipients of any fines for violation of the grave.[55]

Since there are cases involving several guilds on one epitaph, in all there are a total of ten guilds mentioned in connection with funerary arrangements in the extant monuments of Hierapolis: dyers, nail-workers, coppersmiths, purple-dyers, livestock dealers, watermill engineers, farmers, wool-cleaners, carpet-weavers, and an unknown "guild." The association of purple-dyers, in particular, stands out prominently as a favourite in the funerary monuments that have survived to us, appearing as recipients of fines or bequests for visitation ceremonies on nearly half (four out of ten) of the grave inscriptions involving guilds, including the Glykon family grave itself.[56]

The fact that a family devoted to the Judean God specifically chose to call on the services of the purple-dyers, as well as the carpet-weavers (a guild known only from the Glykon inscription), begs a question regarding the composition of these guilds and the ethnic identities of guild members. This issue is important in evaluating possibilities regarding dynamics of assimilation and interaction here. Scholarly discussions of this inscription, including many based on the earlier reading, which lacked the reference to Kalends, address the question of whether the guilds were (1) solely Judean, (2) solely non-Judean (gentile), or (3) a mixture of both. Seldom do these scholarly discussions make reference to other epigraphical evidence for the purple-dyers at Hierapolis, however. Such evidence shows that for the purple-dyers, at least, the first option is untenable, the second plausible, and the third most likely.

Erich Ziebarth was among the first to suggest that these two guilds were solely Judean in membership, and other scholars have followed suit, including William Ramsay and Shimon Applebaum.[57] Most recently, Miranda suggests that the purple-dyers, at least, were solely Judean, based on the fact that Glykon chose to have the purple-dyers provide their services only on a Judean holiday. The bequest to the carpet-weavers, however, involves both a Roman and a Judean holiday, reflecting Glykon's choice of separate holidays for the gentile and Judean members of that mixed group, in Miranda's view.[58] However, the Glykon inscription does not give any clear indication that either of these guilds were distinctively Judean, nor that they stood out from other such groups in Hierapolis.

More important, a good number of inscriptions (seven in all) concerning purple-dyers at Hierapolis in this period (mid-second to early third centuries) show that, rather

54. *IHierapJ* 50, 195; *IHierapPenn* 45; *IHierapMir* 23 = *IHierapJ* 342. On this local ceremony, see Judeich's notes to *IHierapJ* 195, as well as *IHierapJ* 133, 153, 209, 234, 270, 278, 293, 310, 336 (cf. *ILaodikeia* 84, 85).

55. *IHierapJ* 218; *IHierapPenn* 7, 23, 25, 45.

56. *IHierapJ* 133, 227; *IHierapPenn* 23 and *IHierapMir* 23 = *IHierapJ* 342.

57. Ziebarth 1896, 129; Ramsay 1900, 81, and Ramsay 1902, 98–101; Applebaum 1974b, 480–83.

58. Miranda 1999a, 140–45.

than being distinctively Judean, this guild consisted principally of gentiles (at the points we have any evidence for them) and were viewed as a typical guild in the community.[59] Thus, for instance, the purple-dyers (ἡ τέχνη τῶν πορφυραβά[φων]) joined with the city (*polis*) in about 209 CE to dedicate a portion of the theatre (two levels of the architrave) to Apollo Archegetes ("the Founder"), to other gods of the homeland, and to the emperors Septimius Severus and Caracalla.[60] And beyond the Glykon inscription, none of the other four families who included the purple-dyers (or its leadership, "the board of presidents of the purple-dyers") in funerary arrangements expressly indicates any Judean connections regarding either the family who owned the grave or the guild(s) in question, which goes by various titles at different points.[61]

When the "sacred guild of purple-dyers" (ἡ σεμνοτάτη ἐργα|σία τῶν πορφορα|βάφων) set up its own honorary monuments for civic and imperial officials, once again there is no indication that they were distinctively Judean in composition.[62] It is certainly possible, however, that the guild included Judeans in its membership when such honorary activities took place (the membership would no doubt change over generations), especially in light of evidence from elsewhere concerning Judeans' interactions with imperial-connected individuals who were not Judean.[63] So, although we cannot necessarily assume that members in the purple-dyers were solely non-Judeans (gentiles), we do know that they were *not* solely Judeans during the era of the Glykon inscription.

In light of this, there are two main possibilities regarding the composition of these guilds. In either case this is evidence not only for the participation and integration of Judeans in civic life but also for Judean affiliations with, or memberships in, local occupational associations at Hierapolis. On the one hand, if the guild was composed exclusively of gentiles, as Judeich and Conrad Cichorius suggested early on, this is a Judean (or gentile "Judaizer") following burial conventions of non-Judeans in Hierapolis (and Asia generally) by including guilds in funerary provisions.[64] In this case, the reason for Glykon's asking these guilds (instead of a Judean group, for instance) to perform the grave rituals would presumably relate to the fact that he had contacts with purple-dyers and carpet-weavers

59. Cf. Judeich 1898, 174; Ritti 1992–93, 66–67. There are slight variations in the terminology used in reference to the purple-dyers (see n. 60). The purple-dyers are to be distinguished from the "dyers" (βαφεῖς), however, who formed a separate guild (*IHierapJ* 50 and 195).

60. Ritti 1985, 108–13.

61. *IHierapJ* 133 (designated simply τῶν πορ[φυραβάφων); *IHierapJ* 227b (referring to τῷ συνεδρίῳ | τῆς προεδρίας τῶν πορφυρα|βάφων, "the board of presidency of the purple-dyers"); *IHierapPenn* 23 (referring to τῇ προεδρίᾳ τῶν πορφυραβάφων, "the presidents of the purple-dyers"). Cf. *IHierapJ* 156; *IHierapPenn* 37 (each involving a purple-*dealer* [πορφυροπώλης] with no Judean connection involved).

62. *IHierapJ* 42; *IHierapJ* 41= *IGR* IV 822 (probably third cent. CE). The use of "most sacred" is typical of associations, organizations, and civic bodies when they express their own identities, namely, when the group in question is the one having the monument inscribed (see n. 20; cf. *IHierapJ* 36, 40).

63. See Harland 2003a, 219–28.

64. Humann, Cichorius, et al. 1898, 46, 51, 174.

within commercial networks, perhaps as a regular customer, vendor, or benefactor of the guilds.[65]

What seems even more likely is that, although consisting principally of non-Judeans, at Glykon's time these two guilds included individual devotees of the Judean God (Judeans, or perhaps gentile "Judaizers" or "Judaizing" Christians),[66] who happened to be purple-dyers or carpet-weavers. Paul R. Trebilco is among those who mention this third possibility, yet he is hesitant to take a stand on which of the three options seems most or least likely.[67] Suggesting the presence of devotees of the Judean God in the guilds would have the advantage of better accounting for Glykon's request that gentile guilds perform the customary grave ceremony on Judean holidays, and we know that Judeans sometimes did engage in clothing and other related occupations.[68]

If this is indeed the case, then we can begin to imagine processes whereby ordinary gentiles might become gentile sympathizers or "god-fearers" (such as those at Aphrodisias in the fourth century). For the Glykon family's choice to corporately involve these guilds in celebrating Judean festivals would involve some gentiles who had little or no previous involvement in Judean practices. Social network connections based on common occupation could become the basis of new adherences, in this case perhaps leading to an increase in the number of gentiles with some level of attachment to the Judean God or to Judeans living in Hierapolis.[69] In fourth-century Aphrodisias, for instance, several Judeans and "god-fearers" came from occupations related to clothing production or sale (rag-dealer, fuller, boot-maker, linen-worker, and purple-dyer) and, in at least one case, the occupation of a named Judean (a bronzesmith) matches that of two "god-fearers," who are also bronzesmiths (*IJO* II 14b, lines 25, 46, 53). In chapter 1 I discussed the role of occupational networks in the foundation and growth of associations of various kinds, including some Judean gatherings.

If there were Judeans (or "god-fearers") as members of these guilds at Hierapolis, as I argue, Glykon's reasons for choosing these two guilds (rather than other known guilds) would involve a combination of factors, including his contacts (for commercial and/or benefaction purposes) with both Judeans and gentiles *and* his ethnic and cultural affiliations with fellow-Judeans (or at least gentile devotees of the Judean God) in Hierapolis. It is this combination of attachments that makes this third option concerning the mixed

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65. It was common for wealthier individuals to call on the funerary-related services of a guild to which they did *not* belong (see the earlier discussion of Glykon's socio-economic status).

66. On Christians at Hierapolis, see below.

67. Trebilco 1991, 178–79. Kraabel (1968, 134–35) is among the first to mention this option. Ritti (1992–93) further explores this possibility and is less hesitant in suggesting that this may be a mixed guild. Miranda (1999a, 141–44) discusses evidence of Judean occupational organizations (in Palestine and Alexandria) at some length, and suggests that the purple-dyers were likely Judean and that the carpet-weavers may have been mixed. The new edition of Emil Schürer's work (by Vermes, Millar, and Goodman) states that "the members of the guilds must also have been influenced by Judaism" (Schürer 1973–87, 3.27). Cf. *AE* (1994), no. 1660 on the possibility of *theosebeis*.

68. Cf. *CIJ* 787, 873, 929, 931; Acts 16:14–15; 18:2–3.

69. Cf. Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987, 116–23. Tessa Rajak and David Noy have shown that even those who were designated "synagogue leaders" may have been non-Judean benefactors of Judean groups, for instance. See Rajak and Noy 1993, 75–93; cf. Rajak 2002, 373–91.

composition of the guild most effective in making sense of the evidence. The theory that Judeans at Hierapolis maintained affiliations with or memberships in other groups or associations within the city is also consistent with Judean evidence from other areas.[70] In cases where we know the occupation of Judeans there is a range of activity comparable to the known guilds, and the fact that occupations are mentioned at all on Judean monuments suggests that this was an important component in their identities.[71] So it is not too surprising to find Judeans affiliating with their fellow-workers within occupational networks and guilds. I will return to this important issue of multiple memberships in associations in chapter 7.

Conclusion

Throughout this chapter I have discussed evidence for members of ethnic or cultural minority groups, namely Judeans at Hierapolis, adopting and adapting to local cultural practices and interacting with their Greek or Roman neighbours in the second and third centuries. The case of Hierapolis demonstrates well some dynamics of cultural and structural assimilation, and it is worthwhile placing this evidence within a broader social-scientific framework here.[72]

In the previous chapter I discussed theories of assimilation that help to explain the processes of boundary negotiations that take place when members of two or more cultural groups interact. In particular, it is useful to distinguish between subprocesses of assimilation, the most important here being (1) cultural assimilation, or acculturation, (2) structural assimilation, and (3) dissimilation or cultural maintenance. I have explained each of these in some detail already, but further explanation of the second main subprocess, *structural assimilation*, is important here in connection with Judeans at Hierapolis.

Milton Yinger proposes that structural assimilation entails both informal and formal levels.[73] At the *informal* level, individual members of a given ethnic or cultural group can interact with persons from other cultural groups through personal, social network connections, including memberships in neighbourhoods, clubs, and associations.[74] The *formal* level of structural assimilation involves members of a particular cultural minority group participating in political, legal, social, or economic institutions of society.

These social-scientific insights provide a framework in which to make better sense of the ancient evidence—albeit fragmentary—for Judeans and Judean groups at Hierapolis and elsewhere in the empire. Moreover, both the form and content of the Judean epitaphs at Hierapolis illustrate both cultural and structural assimilation. First of all, we have seen that the form of Judean grave inscriptions indicates acculturation to patterns of other non-

70. See chapter 7 for evidence regarding multiple affiliations among Judeans.

71. See van der Horst 1991, 99–101; Shaye J. D. Cohen 1993, 10; Reynolds and Tannenbaum 1987, 116–23.

72. For others who have drawn on such social-scientific insights in studying groups in the ancient context see Balch 1986, 79–101; Barclay 1996; Noy 2000.

73. Yinger 1981; Yinger 1994. Cf. Marger 1991, 117–120.

74. Cf. Yinger 1981, 254; Marger 1991, 118.

Judean graves from the same locale.[75] Moving beyond the form of epitaphs to the content and its implications, it is important to notice somewhat subtle evidence of *formal structural* assimilation in relation to important institutions of the Greek city (*polis*). The inclusion of formal institutions, usually the civic ("most sacred") treasury, as recipients of fines in many (nine) Judean inscriptions at Hierapolis (and on Judean epitaphs elsewhere) implied some level of civic responsibility for preservation or maintenance of the family tomb.[76] Violators would have to answer not only to the descendants of the family, if any, but also to the city of Hierapolis itself, so to speak. Including local associations, alongside civic institutions or alone, was thought to further bolster this insurance that the family grave would remain intact and undisturbed.

There are other signs of formal structural assimilation among Judeans here. Like their non-Judean counterparts, nearly half (ten) of the Judean epitaphs from Hierapolis (the Glykon grave included) clearly mention that a copy of the epitaph was placed in the civic archives. This, too, has a structural significance beyond its seemingly incidental mention. For placing a copy in the civic archives further ensured that, if anyone should fail to obey the will of the deceased or actually modify (or remove) the original inscription from the tomb, legal action could follow. This expectation of justice from relevant civic institutions is a significant indication of structural integration within local society.

It is within this context of interaction and acculturation that we can better understand the Glykon family grave itself. If, on the one hand, Glykon and his family were gentile sympathizers (or "judaizing" Christians, for instance)[77] who had adopted important Judean practices, which is possible though difficult to establish, then this provides an interesting case of Greek or Phrygian gentiles' acculturation to the ways of local Judeans while also continuing in burial customs characteristic of Hierapolis and Asia Minor. Furthermore, the involvement of a guild (the purple-dyers) which did include non-Judeans (gentiles) in its number is suggestive of at least some level of acculturation to Judean practices on the part of these guild members at Hierapolis. Yet here it is the family, not members of the guilds, who have chosen to have the guilds participate on Judean holy days and on a Roman festival. Unlike the case of the "god-fearers" at Aphrodisias, there is no clear indication that the gentile guild-members were members in the synagogue or in an association devoted solely to the Judean God.

If, on the other hand, Glykon and his family were from Judea as immigrants or

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75. Among these standard inscriptional patterns (including the common vocabulary used) are: (1) identification of the owner(s) of the tomb and surrounding area; (2) stipulations that no one else, beyond those designated, is to be buried on the site; (3) preventative measures of setting fines should the instructions be violated; (4) arrangements for payment of such fines to civic institutions (treasury or elders' organization) and/or local associations (e.g., Judean synagogues, guilds); and, (5) deposit of a copy of the inscription in the civic archives.

76. Cf. *IJO* II 172 (Akmoneia), 216 (Termessos), 233, 238 (Korykos).

77. Literary evidence shows that followers of Jesus lived at Hierapolis already in the first century (Col 4:13) and continued in subsequent centuries (cf. Eusebius *HE* 3.31.3, 3.36.1–2, 4.26.1). The earliest openly Christian inscriptions from Hierapolis date to Byzantine times, when the martyrium associated with Philip was established (cf. *IHierapJ* 22, 24; fifth century or later). Attempts by those such as Ramsay to identify other inscriptions as Christian based only on the inscription's use of "unusual" language are problematic at best (e.g., *IHierapJ* 227 with notes by Judeich refuting Ramsay's suggestion of Christianity in that inscription; see Ramsay 1895–97, 118–19, no. 28).

descendants of immigrants, this inscription provides further evidence of both cultural and structural assimilation among Judean families at Hierapolis. I have shown that the fabric of this family's identities consisted of intertwined Judean, Roman, and Hierapolitan strands. Most prominently with regard to Judean identity is the concern to have the grave visited on the festivals of Passover and Pentecost. Many Judean families did assert Judean aspects of their identities (in relation to non-Judeans) by using the designation "Judean," and some did so by including symbols such as the menorah on their grave monuments (*IHierapMir* 6, 12). In one case, for instance, it seems that connections with the homeland of Judea or Israel were expressed through a concern to have bones returned to "the ancestral land" (ἐκτὸς τοῦ διακομίσαντος ἡμᾶς εἰς τὴν πατρώ|αν γῆν; *IHierapMir* 19), a burial practice that is attested in only a limited number of other diaspora cases.[78] Still, the Glykon inscription stands out among the epitaphs of Hierapolis, and even Asia Minor or the empire, in its special concern to carry on Judean *customs* even after death, thereby continuing to express this Judean element of the family's identities within Hierapolis indefinitely.

At the same time, Glykon felt himself to be Roman in some sense, both in proudly indicating his status as Roman citizen and by choosing to include the Roman New Year festival as a time when the family would be remembered by a guild in Hierapolis. In fact, the rarity of epigraphic evidence concerning the celebration of this Roman festival in the provinces draws further attention to its significance here as a sign of the adoption of some Roman practices among Judeans, what has traditionally been labeled Romanization.

Alongside these Judean and Roman identifications, the family clearly experienced a sense of belonging within the community of Hierapolis specifically in many respects. At the formal structural level, this family, like other Judeans, deposited a copy of the inscription in the civic archives, indicating an expectation of some level of justice from local legal procedures and institutions. Furthermore, these Judeans were acculturated to Hierapolitan or Phrygian practice in leaving "grave-crowning funds" and followed regional custom in entrusting their final bequest to occupational associations. Not only that, but the family also chose one of the most popular and, it seems, widely trusted local guilds to fulfill this duty.

Both Glykon and the devotees of the Judean God who belonged to the guilds of purple-dyers and carpet-weavers further illustrate the potential for multiple affiliations with subgroups of local society. Such involvements in local groups are an important factor in processes of informal structural assimilation. Moreover, information concerning the Glykon family, as well as other Judeans at Hierapolis, points toward significant levels of integration on the part of these Judeans within the society of Greco-Roman Hierapolis alongside a continued sense of belonging with others who gave special attention to honouring the God of the Judean homeland. Now that we have looked at some cases of integration and positive intergroup relations, we can turn to instances of ethnic and other rivalries among associations in the civic context.

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78. On transportation of bones to Jerusalem, see Williams 1998, 75–76; Josephus *Ant.* 10.94–95. However, see Tessa Rajak's discussion of the necropolis at Beth She'arim in the Lower Galilee, which, in her view, was "a glorified local cemetery, whose catchment area happens to be rather large" (including deceased from nearby diaspora locations, including Beirut, Sidon, and Caesarea; Rajak 2002 [1998], 494).

Part 4

Group Interactions and Rivalries

7

Group Rivalries and Multiple Identities

Associations at Sardis and Smyrna

Introduction

Interactions between different groups within society are central to processes of identity formation and reformulation within those groups. In this chapter, monuments and inscriptions from two cities mentioned in John's Revelation, namely, Sardis and Smyrna, offer a window into the complicated world of group interactions and rivalries in the world of the early Christians. In particular, competition among such associations has important implications for issues of belonging and illustrates how group identities could be expressed in relation to, or over against, other groups.

Moreover, the evidence from such locales demonstrates quite clearly that rivalries could encompass various practices, realms of activity (social, cultic, economic, and otherwise), and levels of engagement. While some groups could be more self-consciously competitive than others in specific ways, competition (alongside cooperation) was inherent within civic life in Asia Minor. Virtually all groups took part in this arena in some manner. Associations were contenders for economic support and benefactions and for the honour and prestige that such connections with benefactors entailed. In fact, participation in monumentalizing was one important means by which an association could assert its identity and make claims about its place within society in relation to other groups and institutions. Rivalrous sentiments are also evident in how groups proclaimed their identities in relation to others. Finally, associations were competitors for potential adherents and for the allegiances of members they had. The evidence for certain individuals' affiliations or memberships within various groups draws attention to the multiple nature of identities.

The point of this chapter is not to say that rivalries predominated but rather to examine what significance areas of competition had for issues of identity. Cooperation and positive intergroup relations were also an element in association life generally. In fact, multiple affiliations, for example, may both indicate competition for allegiances and illustrate the somewhat permeable boundaries that could exist between different associations, such that a person might in some cases comfortably belong within more than one group at a time.

Associations at Sardis and Smyrna

A brief overview of the evidence for associations in Sardis and Smyrna (in the first to third centuries CE) will set the stage for a discussion of rivalries and the expression of group identities. Quite well known in scholarship are the Judean (Jewish) gatherings and Christian congregations that are attested in these two cities.[1] The hall within the bath-gymnasium complex at Sardis, which was adapted in the third or fourth century CE and is pictured in figure 16, is among the most studied synagogues in the diaspora, for instance.[2] Josephus refers to a "synod" of Judeans there at least as early as the first century BCE (Josephus *Ant.* 14.259–261; 16.171), and there are numerous inscriptions pertaining to other Judeans as well (see *IJO* II 53–145). At Smyrna, there was a group that called itself the "people of the Judeans" led by a woman, Rufina, who was head of the synagogue in the second or third century (*IJO* II 43), for instance, and I will soon discuss another somewhat controversial inscription involving "former" Judeans at this locale (*ISmyrna* 697).

Christian groups are attested at Smyrna as early as the time of John's Revelation in the late first century. They continue in our line of vision through the likes of Ignatius of Antioch, whose letters address cities in this region, and Polycarp of Smyrna in the second century. Further information for Christian groups at Sardis comes from authors such as Melito, bishop of Sardis in the mid-second century.[3] Alongside these well-studied Judean and Christian minority groups, however, are numerous other associations that have drawn less scholarly attention and which may provide a framework for comparison on issues such as the expression of identities. The range of associations attested at Sardis and Smyrna is, in fact, quite typical of cities in Asia Minor generally.

Beginning with Sardis, the surviving evidence for occupationally based associations here is somewhat limited. Inscriptions do attest to guilds of Italian businessmen in the republican era, slave-merchants in the late first century, and performers devoted to Dionysos in the second century.[4]

More prevalent in the record are other groups that explicitly identify themselves with particular patron deities. There were associations in connection with Attis, Zeus, Apollo, and the emperors as "revered gods."[5] Some inscriptions refer to "initiates" in mysteries (μύσται and ἀρχενβάται) without designating the deity in question, one of which is also a group of athletes (*ISardH* 1, 5). Other monuments from the vicinity of Sardis vaguely refer to other associations using common terminology, such as "association" (κοινόν) and "companions" (συμβίωσις; *ILydiaKP* III 14–15).

Turning to Smyrna, the surviving evidence for associations that epigraphers have managed to document is even more varied. Regarding guilds, here there is more than

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1. On Sardis and Smyrna, see the volume edited by Ascough 2005. Also see the recent piece on Judeans, Christians, and others at Sardis by Tessa Rajak (2002, 447–62).

2. On the synagogue see, for instance, Seager and Kraabel 1983; Bonz 1990, 1993; Kroll 2001.

3. See Kraabel 1971; Wilken 1976.

4. *SEG* 46 (1996), no. 1521 (ca. 88 BCE), 1524 (90s CE); *ISardBR* 13–14 (time of Hadrian).

5. *ISardBR* 17 (Attis); *ISardBR* 22; *ISardH* 3, 4 (Zeus; first-second cent. CE); *SEG* 46 (1996), no. 1520 (Apollo Pleurenos; first cent. BCE); *ISardH* 2 (Apollo; first cent. CE); *ISardBR* 62 (emperors; second cent. CE).

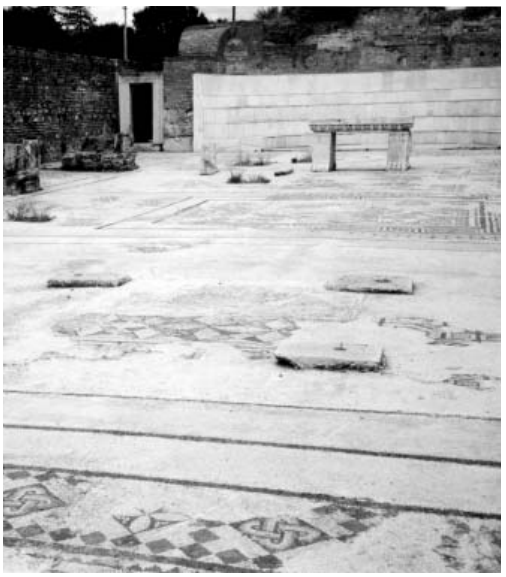

Figure 16. Synagogue hall within the bath–gymnasium complex at Sardis

one "family" (φαμιλία) of gladiators, a "synod" of athletes, a group of porters (devoted to Asklepios at one point), and guilds of basket-fishermen, tanners, silversmiths, and goldsmiths.[6] As in many cities in the region, there was a group of merchants with Italian connections, this one emphasizing its province-wide character in calling itself the "Romans and Hellenes engaged in business in Asia" (*ISmyrna* 642; mid to late second cent. CE).

Several associations at Smyrna make reference to a favourite god or goddess. Among our earliest evidence is the membership list of a group devoted to the worship of Anubis, an Egyptian deity (*ISmyrna* 765; early third cent. BCE). Particularly prominent in the Roman period was a group of "initiates" devoted to Dionysos Breseus.[7] Other Dionysiac inscriptions, which may or may not be related to the "Breiseans," refer to a sanctuary of Dionysos (with Orphic-influenced purity rules for entrance) and to a "Baccheion," a common term for a meeting place among Dionysiac associations.[8]

The goddesses Demeter and Kore find their place here, too. One inscription refers to those that had "stepped into" (hence ἐνβαταί) Kore's mysteries, and several others refer to a "synod" of initiates of the "great goddess" Demeter.[9] It is likely that the group that calls itself "the former Judeans" on a list of donors was dedicated to the deity of its homeland, as I explain further below (*ISmyrna* 697; about 124 CE). Rulers and emperors once again find their place here, as at Sardis: one group called itself the "friends-of-Agrippa companions"

6. Robert 1971 [1940], nos. 225, 240–41; *ISmyrna* 217, 709 (athletes; first cent. CE); *ISmyrna* 204, 205, 713 (porters; ca. 150–180 CE and 225 CE); *ISmyrna* 715 (fishermen; third cent. CE); Petzl 1977, 87, no. 18 (tanners); *ISmyrna* 721 (goldsmiths/silversmiths; ca. 14–37 CE); cf. *ISmyrna* 718.

7. *ISmyrna* 598–99, 600–601, 622, 639, 652, 729–30, 731–32.

8. *ISmyrna* 728, 733 (second-third cent. CE); cf. Nilsson 1957:133–43. On "Baccheion" see *IEph* 434, *IDidyma* 502, *IGBulg* 1864 (Bizye, Thracia), *IGR* I 787 (Heraklea-Perinthos), *IG* II.2 1368 (Athens).

9. *ISmyrna* 726 (Kore; cf. *ISardH* 5), 653–55 (first-second cent. CE).

and another in the nearby village of Mostenae was an association of "Caesarists," regularly engaging in sacrifices for their patron deities, the emperors (*ISmyrna* 331; *IGR* IV 1348).[10] Less certain are the specific identities of other associations that simply call themselves "companions," "fellow-initiates," "society members," "synods," "sanhedrins," or "friends."[11]

Rivalries among Associations and Issues of Identity

As the above survey suggests, we have considerable evidence for associations at Sardis and Smyrna with which to work. At times, however, it will be beneficial to draw on sources from other cities in the same region and from elsewhere in the Mediterranean to shed more light on issues of identity. Here I discuss a range of possibilities in contentious encounters among associations that also reveal important aspects of how members of these groups expressed their identities within broader society. After dealing with the competitive nature of benefaction, I go on to certain associations' proclamations of preeminence for their group or deity. Finally, I consider competition for membership and for the allegiances or loyalties of members, which provides an opportunity to evaluate the significance of multiple affiliations and identities.

Rivalries Related to Benefaction

An important aspect of social exchanges in the Greco-Roman world were what we can call systems of benefaction (more appropriate for the Greek East) or patronage (more appropriate for the Latin West). The social structures and hierarchies of society were maintained, in part, by exchanges of "good deeds" (literal meaning of "benefaction," εὐεργασία), benefits, or favours in return for honours (τιμαί). Those higher in the social strata were expected to make such donations of goodwill (εὔνοια)—be they offering to build a temple, host a festival, support a local association's meetings, or act as a leader of a group. Those who received such benefits were expected to acknowledge them in the form of honours in return. Such honours could entail proclaiming honours during meetings of the group in question or erecting a statue or monument in honour of the donor or donors. Sometimes benefactors might also be invited as a special guest at meetings of the association, for instance. Failure to fittingly honour one's benefactors could result in shame or insult, honour's antithesis. Considerable scholarly work has been done on the nature of honour–shame societies of the Mediterranean world, both ancient and modern.[12] J. E. Lendon's recent work, *Empire of Honour* (1997), provides a particularly vivid portrait of how this system of honour functioned in Greek and Roman societies.

In the mindset of participants in antiquity, this overall system of hierarchy and exchange

10. For the former, compare *IG* VI 374 (an association of Agrippiasts at Sparta) and *CIJ* 365, 425, 503 (a synagogue of Agrippesians at Rome). On the synagogues, see Leon 1995 [1960], 140–42 and Richardson 1998, 19–23.

11. *ISmyrna* 330, 534, 706, 716, 718, 720, 734.

12. Cf. Malina 1981; Elliott 1993.

extended to include the cosmos as a whole, as gods and emperors were considered among the most important benefactors deserving of appropriate honours. The most fitting form of honours for the gods was sacrifice (and accompanying meals), alongside practices such as prayer, singing of hymns, and mysteries. Fittingly honouring gods and emperors was a means by which families, associations, cities, and larger regions helped to ensure the safety and security of their communities. Failure to honour the gods was sure to bring famine, earthquake, fire, and other disasters; so this was taken seriously. So what we as moderns might call "worship" or "religion" was for the ancients part of a more encompassing system of social and cultural exchanges and values that involved the gods.

Turning to associations in Sardis and Smyrna, the conventions of benefaction and honours evince several important dimensions of rivalries within the civic context. First, associations were competitors for the benefaction or support of the elites, and such connections with civic, provincial, or imperial notables could also enhance the perceived status and image of the association within local society.[13] Prominent women and men of the city were potentially the benefactors of several groups and institutions (including the city itself). Yet their resources were not limitless, and groups of various kinds were contestants as potential beneficiaries.

Rivalries for connections with a particular benefactor are illustrated by the case of T. Julius Lepidus at Sardis and the Lepidus family elsewhere in Asia Minor. Both the official, gymnastic group of young men (ephebes) and an association of merchants honoured him, probably with expectations of continued support (*ISardBR* 46 with revisions in *SEG* 46 [1996] 1523). The latter group joined with the civic assembly in honouring this prominent benefactor in the first century:

> According to the decree passed by the assembly, the people of the Sardians honoured T. Julius Lepidus, the emperor-loving high priest of both Asia and the city and foremost man of the city, because of his love of glory and unmatched goodwill towards the homeland. Those engaged in business in the slave market ([τῶν ἐν τῷ] | σταταρίῳ πρα[γματευο]|μένων) set up this honour from their own resources.[14]

The guild of merchants was, evidently, quick to join in honouring such a prominent benefactor.

Lepidus's kin at Thyatira, C. Julius Lepidus, was also the benefactor of a gymnastic group (*TAM* V 968). The Thyatiran Lepidus's cousin (or second cousin), Claudia Ammion, included among her beneficiaries the guild of dyers:

> The dyers honoured and set up this monument from their own resources for Claudia Ammion—daughter of Metrodoros Lepidas and wife of Tiberius Claudius Antyllos who was gymnasium director three times—who was priestess of the revered ones (emperors) and high priestess of the city for life, having been

13. Cf. van Nijf 1997, 73–128; Harland 2003a, 137–60.

14. *SEG* 46 (1996), no. 1524 (first cent. CE); cf. *TAM* V 932 (guild of slave-market merchants at Thyatira). Translations are mine unless otherwise noted.

> contest director in a brilliant and extravagant manner with purity and modesty, excelling others.[15]

Claudia's husband was also a benefactor of a gymnastic organization there.[16] Associations, organizations, and institutions of various kinds were in competition for contacts with and financial support from elite families like the Lepidus family.

Making initial connections with a benefactor helped to ensure continued, cross-generational support (financial and otherwise) from the same family, and hence continued success in competing with potential rivals. This is what is hinted at in the following inscription from Sardis: "The therapeutists of Zeus—from among those who enter the shrine—crowned Sokrates Pardalas, son of Polemaios, foremost man of the city, *for following in his ancestors' footsteps* in his piety towards the deity" (*ISardBR* 221).[17] It is more explicit in the case of the guild of dyers at Thyatira who honoured T. Claudius Sokrates, civic benefactor and imperial cult high priest, just before 113 CE, as well as his son, Sakerdotianos, about twenty years later, praising him for his "love of honour since he was a boy."[18]

It is important to remember that inscriptions provide only snapshots of a moving picture, and it is hard to measure the level of competition or the number of groups involved. For example, monuments rarely if ever tell us that an association failed to gain support from a particular benefactor. Not surprisingly, we hear of only the "winners" not the "losers." I would suggest, however, that the associations in question were not assured of such support. Rather, they had to struggle with others, including more official groups or institutions, to be noticed in this way. Successfully gaining such benefaction was a way of raising the profile of the association within broader society, where the identity of the association could be expressed more openly.

Before moving on to the more varied nature of benefaction and its significance, it is worth noting that associations were not always competing *for* benefactors but could become competitors *as* benefactors. Associations could be competitors as donors seeking the appropriate honours and prestige in return. The guild of silversmiths and goldsmiths at Smyrna, for instance, became a benefactor when it repaired a statue of the goddess Athena "for the homeland" (*ISmyrna* 721). Such actions could maintain or improve an association's profile or visibility within the civic community.

A list of donors to civic institutions at Smyrna (dating about 124 CE) included several groups who, because of their willing contributions to the homeland, could expect honour and prestige in return. Here the groups are both cooperating in some ways and competing in others, then. Among the groups listed as donors on this monument were "theologians," a group of "hymn singers," and a group of "former Judeans" (οἱ ποτε Ἰουδαῖοι; *ISmyrna* 697).

The identity of this group of people identified in some way as "Judeans" has been the centre of some scholarly debate. It is important to take some time here to discuss the

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15. *TAM* V 972 (ca. 50 CE); cf. Buckler 1913, 296–300, nos. 2–3; Harland 2003a, 143–47 (on the dyers at Thyatira).

16. *TAM* V 975 (first cent. CE); see Harland 2003a, 146, figure 25, for the family tree.

17. Cf. Herrmann 1996, 323.

18. *TAM* V 978–980 = Buckler 1913, 300–306, nos. 4–5 (with family tree).

identity of this particular group before returning to our focus on rivalries and benefaction. Traditionally (following Jean-Baptiste Frey in *CIJ* 742), οἱ ποτε Ἰουδαῖοι (literally "the at one time *Ioudaioi*") has been understood as "former Jews" in the "religious" sense of apostates: "Jews who had acquired Greek citizenship at the price of repudiating their Jewish allegiance."[19] Mary Smallwood, Louis Feldman, and others who understand it as such cite no other inscriptional evidence to support this interpretation. Moreover, it seems that broader assumptions concerning whether or not Judeans could actually participate in such ways within the Greek city (*polis*) without losing their "Jewish" identity play a significant role in the decision to interpret the phrase as apostasy. This view also seems to separate "religion" from social and cultural life generally, as though the historical subjects would compartmentalize life in this modern way.

Thomas Kraabel, who is followed by others, rightly challenges this translation and suggests that the term means "people formerly of Judea."[20] He does not cite inscriptional evidence to back up this use of the term ποτε ("at one time," "at some time") in reference to a group of immigrants, however. He bases his interpretation on the fact that this type of monument erected in connection with benefactions from various groups to the city would be an unlikely place to make a public renunciation of faith, which is true. Ross Kraemer (1989) builds on Kraabel's suggestion and pursues further evidence that suggests the term could indeed be used as a geographical indicator.

Recently, Margaret Williams contests Kraabel's suggestion, arguing that conspicuous Jewish apostasy did occur and "foreign residents are *never* described as 'formerly of such and such a region.'"[21] She makes no positive arguments concerning how to translate this phrase in the inscription, apparently resorting to the unfounded apostasy theory. She is, in fact, mistaken regarding the absence of this practice of describing foreigners as formerly of some region (unless she is still focussed solely on the term ποτε specifically).

There is substantial evidence for the geographic and ethnic (not "[ir]religious") understanding of the phrase. First of all, the most recent studies on how to translate the term "*Ioudaioi*" (e.g., by Philip Esler, Steve Mason, and John H. Elliott) show that geographical meanings, with ethnic and cultural implications, would predominate in the ancient setting, and that it is best to use the term "Judeans" (rather than "Jews" with its specifically "religious" connotations to the modern ear) to translate the term.[22] Furthermore, in this specific case at Smyrna, a lengthy inscription recording various benefactions to the city would be, as Kraabel points out, an unlikely place to make a public statement of apostasy, and there are no other attested epigraphical parallels to this. The announcement of one's former religious status not only as an individual but as a group would also be peculiar considering the ways in which what we call "religion" was embedded within social and cultural life in antiquity.

On the other hand, the clear proclamation of one's geographical origins with its implications regarding ethnic identity and cultural practice is common in inscriptions. In fact, geographical origin—with accompanying notions of ethnic identity and a cultural way of

19. Feldman 1993, 83, citing Smallwood 1976, 507.

20. Kraabel 1982, 455; cf. Trebilco 1991, 175; *ISmyrna* 697, notes to line 20.

21. Williams 1997:251–52 (italics mine).

22. See Esler 2003; Mason 2007; Elliott 2007.

life—is among the most attested means of identification in the majority of inscriptions, as we saw in earlier chapters. Although we have no other *exact* parallels to this specific usage of ποτε ("at one time," "at some time") in the known cases of ethnically or geographically based associations specifically, it is important to point out that our evidence is partial at best. There is no consistently employed form of self-designation by such immigrant groups in Asia Minor, such that we cannot speak of deviations. Perhaps more importantly, there is, in fact, a similar phrase used on inscriptions to designate *former geographical origins* for an individual or several individuals, which parallels closely the case at Smyrna in many regards. In particular, we have the comparable use of πρίν ("before," "formerly") as in the phrase "when Aurelius, son of Theophilos, formerly of Pieria, was secretary."[23] Compare also the use of "now" (νῦν) as with the Judean epitaph discussed in chapter 6: "Aur. Heortasios Julianus, Tripolitan, Judean, now living in Hierapolis" (Τριπολείτου Ἰουδέου, νοῖν οἰκο<ῦ>ντ[ος] | ἐν Εἱεραπόλι) (*IHierapMir* 14b).

So the inscription involving Judeans at Smyrna as donors provides another instance of settlers from the East gathering together as a group, perhaps an ongoing association, much like those groups discussed in our chapter on Syrian immigrants. On this occasion, this ethnically based association joined with other local groups in contributing towards activities in the civic community, engaging in both cooperative and competitive dimensions of benefaction.

Returning to the issue of competition and identity, there was far more to benefaction than simple material support. Connections with the elites could be a source of *prestige and honour* for an association. Here, too, associations were potential rivals as they sought to establish or maintain a place for themselves within society. The case of the initiates of Dionysos Breseus at Smyrna serves well in illustrating the feelings of importance that arose from such connections.

This synod of initiates is first attested in the late first century and evidently had a long life, existing well into the third century (*ISmyrna* 731, 729). At a certain point in the second century, the membership apparently encompassed a significant number of performers (τεχνῖται), who were likely responsible for performing the Bacchic theatrical dances (*ISmyrna* 639).[24] The synod maintained connections with important figures within civic, provincial, and imperial networks. And these connections were a source of prestige for this group, presumably over against other associations within the same milieu. The group honoured a member of the local elite who had displayed love of honour in his role as contest director on one occasion (*ISmryna* 652; first century). About a century later, they erected a monument in honour of a functionary in the imperial cult and in the worship of Dionysos:

> The sacred synod of performers and initiates which are gathered around Dionysos Breseus honoured Marcus Aurelius Julianus, son of Charidemos, twice-asiarch,

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23. *NewDocs* I 5 = Mitchell 1999, 131, no. 51 (Pydna, Macedonia); cf. *IG* IV 783.b.4; *IG* X.2 564 (Thessalonica); *SEG* 27 (1977), no. 293 (Leukopatra); all third-early fourth cent. CE. I am grateful to John S. Kloppenborg for pointing me to these inscriptions.

24. Cf. Lucian *De saltatione* 79; Artemidoros *Oneirokritika* 4.39; *IPergamon* 486 (association of "dancing cowherds")

> crown-bearer, temple-warden of the revered ones (emperors) and "bacchos" of the god, because of his piety towards the god and his goodwill towards the homeland in everything; because of the greatness of the works which he has done for it; and because of his endowments for them. This was done when Menophilos Amerimnos, son of Metrophanes, was treasurer and Aphrodisios Paulus, son of Phoibion, was superintendent of works (*ISmyrna* 639).

Perhaps more important in illustrating the reputation-enhancing nature of connections is this group's activities and diplomacy in relation to emperors (or emperors-to-be). The group set up a monument in honour of Hadrian, "Olympios, saviour, and founder" (*ISmyrna* 622; ca. 129–131 CE), and even maintained correspondence with both Marcus Aurelius and Antoninus Pius (*ISmyrna* 600).[25] The most well-preserved part of the latter inscription involves the future emperor Marcus Aurelius, then consul for the second time (ca. 158 CE), responding to the initiates who had sent a copy of their honorary decree by way of the proconsul, T. Statilius Maximus. Aurelius's response to the decree, which pertained to the association's celebration at the birth of his son, acknowledges the goodwill of the initiates even though his son had since died. That these diplomatic contacts continued with Lucius Verus when Aurelius was emperor is shown in a fragmentary letter from these emperors to the same group around 161–163 CE, perhaps in response to further honours (*ISmyrna* 601). While this correspondence with emperors on the part of a local association is somewhat special (though certainly not unique),[26] this synod of initiates was by no means alone among associations in regard to engagement in monumental honours.

The significance of such connections for understanding rivalries and the expression of identities is better understood once one realizes that groups sometimes (publicly) advertised their connections by monumentalizing these instances of contacts with important persons in civic, provincial, and imperial networks. In the Roman Empire, setting up a plaque or monument was a means by which individuals and groups advertised connections, enhanced their standing, and made a statement regarding their identity in relation to surrounding society. According to Woolf, "the primary function of monuments in the early Empire was as devices with which to assert the place of individuals [or collectivities] within society."[27] Those who set up a monument were, in a very concrete manner, literally set in stone, attempting to symbolically preserve a particular set of relations and connections within society and the cosmos for passers-by to observe: the visual and textual components of epigraphy "provided a device by which individuals could write their public identities into history, by fixing in permanent form their achievements and their relations with gods, with men [*sic*], with the Empire, and with the city."[28] Monumentalizing, then, was one way in which groups, such as associations, could express their identities within society, simultaneously attempting to enhance their standing in relation to other competitors in the same context.

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25. Cf. Krier 1980; Petzl 1983.

26. On associations and diplomacy, see Millar 1977, 456–64 and Harland 2003a, 155–60, 220–23.

27. Woolf 1996, 29.

28. Woolf 1996, 39.

The Rhetoric of Rivalry and External Posturing

Competitive mentalities among associations are further indicated in language and expressions of identity, or in what I call "the rhetoric of rivalry" here. I would suggest that the rhetoric of rivalry among associations would, at least on occasion, find social expression in realities of life, as when members of different groups came face to face. Let me illustrate what I mean by the rhetoric of rivalry.

Sometimes associations and guilds express pride in group identity by attaching appropriate appellations to their publicized name. Many, like the Dionysiac initiates at Smyrna, felt that their group was "sacred" or "holy." Others claimed to be particularly "emperor-loving" and still others called themselves "great" or "worldwide"/"ecumenical."[29]

Associations of performers and athletes illustrate the conscious rivalry involved in such titles. Two particular groups, which were quite active throughout Asia Minor, piled on the self-designations: "the sacred, worldwide synod of performers, sacred victors and associate competitors gathered around Dionysos and emperor Trajan . . . new Dionysos," on the one hand; and, "the sacred, athletic, traveling, pious, reverent synod . . . gathered around Herakles and emperor . . . Hadrian . . . ," on the other.[30]

Because of the sporadic nature of archeological finds, rarely is there evidence of explicit claims of superiority by a particular association. Nonetheless, a monumental statement by a Dionysiac association (Iobacchoi) at Athens is suggestive.[31] When this group gathered in assembly they did so "for the honour and glory of the Bacchic association (εἰς κόσμον καὶ δόξαν τοῦ Βακχείου)," acclaiming their new high priest, the wealthy C. Herodes Atticus, and calling for the engravement of the associations' statutes (see the sculpture of Herodes in figure 17). The minutes for the meeting record the enthusiastic shout of members: "Bravo for the priest! Revive the statutes! . . . Health and good order to the Bacchic association!" The meeting culminated with the members' acclamation: "Now we are the best of all Bacchic associations!" Presumably Dionysiac associations were superior to those devoted to other deities, but this group was the best of all, from the perspective of its members.

There are similar rhetorical claims to preeminence among associations, sometimes with reference to the superiority of the patron deity or deities. Occasionally there is rhetoric concerning whose god is the best, most protective, or most worthy of honour. Aelius Aristides of Smyrna reflects this sort of rhetoric among participants in associations in his discussion of those devoted to Sarapis:

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29. "Sacred/most sacred": *IEph* 636 (silversmiths); *IKyzikos* 97 (guild of marble-workers), 291 (sack-bearers/porters); *IHierapJ* 40 (guild of wool-cleaners), 41, 342 (guild of purple-dyers); *SEG* 36 (1986), nos. 1051–53 (associations of linen-workers, sack-bearers/porters devoted to Hermes); *IGLAM* 656 ("tribe" of leather-tanners at Philadelphia); *ISmyrna* 652 (synod of Breiseans devoted to Dionysos). "Emperor loving": *IEph* 293 (initiates of Dionysos); *IMiletos* 940d (goldsmiths in the theatre). "Great": *IEph* 4117 (*collegium* of imperial freedmen [*Kaisarianoi*]). "Worldwide": *SEG* 36 (1986), no. 1051 (guild of linen-workers at Miletos). "World-wide" was a favourite among guilds of performers and athletes.

30. *IAphrodSpect* 88 (127 CE), 90; cf. *IAphrodSpect* 91–92; *ISardBR* 13–14; *IEph* 22.

31. *IG* II.2 1368 = *LSCG* 51 (ca. 178 CE); cf. Tod 1932, 71–96.

Figure 17. Statue head of Herodes Atticus, now in the British Museum

> And *people exceptionally make this god alone a full partner in their sacrifices*, summoning him to the feast and making him both their chief guest and host, so that *while different gods contribute to different banquets, he is the universal contributor to all banquets* and has the rank of mess president for those who assemble at times for his sake . . . he is a participant in the libations and is the one who receives the libations, and he goes as a guest to the revel and issues the invitations to the revellers, who under his guidance perform a dance. . . . (*Or.* 45.27–28)[32]

Evidently, it was in associations devoted to Sarapis, more so than any others, that participants truly experienced communion with their god, according to the sentiment expressed here.

There is further evidence from Smyrna specifically. Seldom does the rhetoric of rivalry in inscriptions clearly identify the competitors. This is why the case of associations devoted to Demeter and to Dionysos at Smyrna in the first and second centuries is so pertinent to issues of identity and competition. For each of these associations, which existed simultaneously, there are the typical claims regarding the "greatness" of its patron deity. What is even more telling is the terminology used by each group, such that it seems that we are witnessing conscious attempts to rival the other with claims of preeminence. On the one hand is "the synod of initiates of the great goddess *before the city* (πρὸ πόλεως), Demeter Thesmophoros." On the other are "the initiates of the great Dionysos Breseus *before the city*."[33] In reference to the Dionysiac group, Cadoux interpreted "before the city" as a

32. Trans. Behr 1981–86 with adaptations and my italics. See Youtie 1948 and *NewDocs* I 1 for several invitations to such banquets in Egypt, in which Sarapis himself is the host who bids his guests to attend.

33. *ISmyrna* 622 (ca. 129–131 CE), 655 (note the lack of an article in the Greek). For other uses of

simple reference to locality: "his [Dionysos's] temple stood just outside the walls."[34] However, as Louis and Jeanne Robert point out, there is likely a double meaning here that relates to issues of rivalry: "It seems that πρὸ πόλεως is employed with two senses: before the city, protecting the city."[35] Members of each association felt that their deity was foremost in protecting the civic community, and their group, not the other, was therefore pre-eminent in the homeland of Smyrna. They proclaimed their rivalrous identities publicly, in this case in the form of inscriptions.

Rivalries over Membership and Allegiances

Associations could also be competitors for members and for the allegiances or loyalties of those who were already members. The evidence for multiple affiliations suggests that many associations were potential competitors in this regard. Yet there are clear signs that some groups, more than others, were self-consciously competitive for allegiances, sometimes tending towards claims of exclusivity of some sort. This was the case with some Judean gatherings and some groups of Jesus-followers in this same region, but they were not entirely alone.

As I explained in the introduction, many social scientists emphasize the situational character of identities, including ethnic identities. Particular people might choose to identify themselves differently, or may be perceived by others differently, depending on the particular social situation or group setting. Communications and understandings of identity—relating to the questions "who am I?" or "who are we?"—could be different when a particular person was attending one group rather than another. There was potential for an individual to hold plural ethnic and social identities as a result of such multiple group affiliations. I would suggest that the possibility of tensions among such identities in a particular individual would be more prevalent in cases where that individual belonged to at least one group in which certain members or leaders made claims of group exclusivity, including some cultural minority groups or ethnic groups (e.g., certain Christian congregations or certain Judean gatherings).

The most general, yet instructive, evidence regarding the potential for multiple affiliations among associations comes from imperial legislation. In the late second century, Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus reenacted a law to the effect that it was not lawful to belong to more than one guild (*non licet autem amplius quam unum collegium legitimum habere*; *Digest* 47.22.1.2). Regardless of the rationale behind, or (in)effectiveness of, such imperial legislation,[36] what is clear from such actions is the commonality of one person belonging to more than one association. In other words, membership in a guild or association was often

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"before the city" by associations, see *IEph* 275, 1257, 1595, 3808a, 4337 (cf. Merkelbach 1979; *NewDocs* VI 32). The πρὸ πόλεως is used at Ephesos as an additional title for Artemis, pointing to her prominence as patron deity and protector of the city (*IEph* 276, 650).

34. Cadoux 1938, 175.

35. 'Il semble que πρὸ πόλεως unisse là les deux sens: devant la ville, protégeant la ville" (Robert and Robert 1983, 172; trans. mine).

36. Meiggs (1960, 321–23) rightly doubts strict enforcement of such laws in the second century. In the first two centuries, governmental involvement or interference in the life of associations was very limited and sporadic, on which see Harland 2003a, 161–73.

Figure 18. The meeting place of the builders' guild at Ostia

nonexclusive. Belonging to one group did not hinder the possibility of belonging to, or affiliating with, another.[37] In this regard, associations of various kinds could be competitors both for new members and for the allegiances of the members they had.

The happenstance nature of archeological evidence makes it unlikely that we would witness actual examples of such multiple affiliations at the local level. Nonetheless, there are indeed some inscriptional cases from various locales. Russell Meiggs points to at least six cases of dual or multiple memberships in guilds at Ostia in Italy in the second century.[38] Meiggs points out that membership in an association based on a specific trade was not necessarily confined to those of that same trade. This left open the possibility of participation within more than one guild even if one did not engage in the occupation in question.[39] Most of the Ostian cases happen to involve members who took on leadership or administrative positions, such as Marcus Licinius Privatus, who was president of the builders (whose meeting place is shown in figure 18) and later treasurer and president of the bakers (*CIL* XIV 128, 374, 4569); and L. Calpurnius Chius, who was a treasurer of both the corn-measurers and the woodworkers, as well as a member in associations devoted to Silvanus, Cybele, and others (*CIL* XIV 309).[40]

Further examples of multiple affiliations are attested elsewhere involving associations

37. See also Ascough 2003, 87–88.

38. See Meiggs 1960, 321–322. Cf. Royden 1988, 29, on cases involving the shippers' guild.

39. Meiggs (1960, 321) points to imperial privileges that were granted to specific guilds on condition that only members of the common trade (rather than whoever happened to belong to the guild) were to share in the privilege.

40. Meiggs 1960, 321–22. On Privatus and Chius, see Royden 1988, 70–71, 106–8.

that do not seem to be based primarily on occupational connections. At Lindos on the Greek island of Rhodes (about 115 BCE), a man named Timapolis played a role as leader and member of numerous associations (at least six *koina*), including those devoted to Aphrodite and Apollo (*ILindos* 252, lines 250–260). I have already discussed cases in previous chapters, such as Achilleus son of Achillas, who was "father" of three different associations in Moesia (*IGLSkythia* I 99–100, II 83).

Turning to Roman Asia specifically, there are clear indications of multiple affiliations or memberships in associations or other groups. At Pergamon, L. Aninius Flaccus is named as a member of both the Dionysiac "dancing cowherds" and the association of "hymn singers of god Augustus and goddess Roma" in the second or third decade of the second century.[41] Contemporary evidence from Ephesos shows that M. Antonius Artemidoros was apparently a member of both "the gold-bearers" (on which see chapter 2) and a group of Dionysiac initiates in the time of Emperor Hadrian (*IEph* 276 and 1601).

Quite intriguing are cases of multiple affiliations involving Judeans and followers of Jesus in Asia Minor, particularly since scholarship has often assumed and stressed the "exclusivity" of membership in such groups.[42] In light of our earlier discussions of assimilation among immigrants and cultural minorities, these multiple involvements in associations and organizations provide further instances of what some sociologists call *informal* structural assimilation. Suggestive of such multiple affiliations are the Judeans on membership lists of gymnastic organizations of youths (ephebes) at Iasos in Asia Minor, at Coronea in Greece, and at Cyrene in Cyrenaica, as well as those Judeans (or Christians) who are named as members of local elders' organizations at Eumeneia.[43] There are indications that Judeans may have maintained memberships in local guilds without necessarily giving up their connections to the synagogue, as I argued in the previous chapter on Hierapolis.

In another study, I have shown that members of Christian congregations in the cities of Roman Asia, especially at Pergamon and Thyatira, seem to have maintained affiliations with other local associations or guilds.[44] There they would encounter food sacrificed to the Greco-Roman gods ("idol-food" in John's terms). John "the seer" clearly objects to these multiple affiliations and labels these involvements idolatry (eating idol-food) and "fornication" (see esp. Rev 2:6, 14–17, 19–23). Yet his Christian opponents who engaged in the activities clearly thought otherwise. John's call for exclusive membership along the lines of a strong sectarianism was not necessarily the norm, as I have shown. There were clearly debates among other Jesus-followers regarding whether or not one could eat food sacrificed to Greek or Roman gods (in associations or elsewhere) while also maintaining membership in a congregation, as the discussions in Paul's letter to Corinth and in Acts further suggest (1 Corinthians 8–10; Acts 15; cf. *Didache* 6.3). Associations and guilds were among the more prevalent local social settings in which one might encounter such sacrificial foods or meats.

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41. Conze and Schuchhardt 1899, 179–80, no. 31 (ca. 106 CE); *IPergamon* 374.

42. E.g., Meeks 1983.

43. *CIJ* 755; *IJO* I Ach 53; Robert 1946, 100–101; Robert 1960a, 436–39 (second-third cent. CE); Lüderitz 1983, 11–21, nos. 6–7 (Jewish names among the ephebes, or youths, at Cyrene in Cyrenaica, late first cent. BCE—early first cent. CE); Rajak 2002 [1985], 368–69. In contrast to these mixed groups, at Hypaipa (near Ephesos) there seems to have been a group of "younger men" consisting solely of Judeans (Ἰουδα|[ι]ων νε|ωτέ|ρων; *IJO* II 47; second or third cent. CE).

44. See Harland 2000; further developed in Harland 2003a, 259–263.

Turning to other groups at Sardis and Smyrna specifically, there are further indications of multiple affiliations and, in this case, indications of attempts to strengthen allegiances to a particular group. Exclusivistic membership tendencies are often attributed to Judean gatherings and Christian congregations by scholars of early Christianity without attention to a few suggestive instances involving other associations. Quite telling are attempts by a certain association to curb tendencies towards multiple affiliations, making apparently exclusive claims to the loyalties of members. Such was the case with the therapeutists of Zeus in Sardis, who in the mid-second century reengraved a Greek translation of an apparently ancient, Aramaic edict by the Lydian governor (404–359 BCE).[45] The ancient edict instructs that the temple-keeping therapeutists of Zeus "who enter the shrine and who crown the god are not to participate in the mysteries of Sabazios—with those who bring the burnt offerings—and the mysteries of Agdistis and Ma." Moreover, "they instruct Dorates, the temple-warden, to abstain from these mysteries." What is most significant for us here is that the leaders or certain members of this group in the Roman era apparently felt a need to reinforce the allegiances of members in the association at a later time, tending towards a view that would limit participation in other groups that engaged in mysteries.

Turning to comparable evidence from Egypt for a moment, an association devoted to Zeus Most High (Hypsistos) at Philadelphia prohibits "leaving the brotherhood of the president for another brotherhood" (τῆς τοῦ ἡγ[ουμένου φράτρας εἰς ἑτέραν φράτραν) (*PLond* VII 2193, line 14). Such exclusivity was not the norm, but there were indeed some associations with tendencies in this direction. In light of such suggestive evidence, Wayne A. Meeks's assertion that "Christian groups were exclusive and totalistic in a way that no club nor even any pagan cultic association was" seems overstated, particularly in light of evidence mentioned earlier that suggests that some Judeans and Christians (including those at Corinth) could engage in multiple group affiliations.[46]

A similar stress on the need for special loyalty to a god's rites, though not necessarily exclusivity, is evident in one of the so-called confession inscriptions of Lydia. This involves a man from Blaundos who set up a monument after he was punished by the god "frequently" and "for a long time" "because he did not wish to come and take part in the mystery when he was called" (*MAMA* IV 281 = Petzl 1994, 126, no. 108; first-second cent. CE).

It is important to note that even without such calls for allegiance (whether of an "exclusive" variety or not), many associations could count on members' attachments and pride in belonging to the group, whether they felt a sense of belonging in other groups simultaneously or not. A grave epigram now in Manisa Museum (= ancient Magnesia on the Sipylos) expresses a deceased member's renowned identification with the association:

> I, who at one point set up a monument of the leader of the society members, lie here, I who first observed zeal and faith towards the society (*thiasos*). My name was Menophilos. For honour's sake these men have set up this grave inscription. My mother also honoured me, as well as my brother, children and wife (*IManisaMus* 354; 180 or 234 CE).[47]

45. *ISardH* 4 = Robert 1975 = CCCA I 456 = *NewDocs* I 3.

46. Meeks 1983, 85.

47. Translation by Malay 1994, with adaptations.

Continuing family traditions of allegiance to the Dionysiac initiates at Smyrna, for instance, show through when members proudly state that their father was also an initiate in the group, claiming the title "ancestral initiate" (*patromystai*; *ISmyrna* 731–32; 80–90 CE).[48] We know that similar patterns of membership from one generation to the next were practiced among the Iobacchoi at Athens, where the rules outline half-price fees for sons of members (*IG* II² 1368, lines 37–41).[49]

Conclusion

Evidently, interaction among associations entailed some degree of competition, and there were opportunities for tensions to arise in particular cases. Associations could be rivals not only for the support of wealthier benefactors, but also for the loyalties of members who belonged to the group. In this context, certain groups could on occasion make claims of preeminence or superiority in relation to other groups. In this way, group identities were developed and communicated, in part, within the broader arena of intergroup relations and rivalries in the cities of the Roman Empire.

At various points, I have noted the place of both Judeans and Christians in rivalries. Here it is important to conclude with some implications for Judean gatherings and Christian congregations, both of which happen to be cultural minority groups. Rather than thinking primarily in terms of Christian groups versus other groups (as is customary in studies that employ sectarian typologies), the discussion of rivalries in this chapter suggests we can understand various associations, including Judean and Christian ones, as participants in a broader arena of association life marked by both competition and cooperation, tensions and positive relations. The level of tensions between a particular association and other groups in the civic setting would vary from one group to the next and from one situation to another. Some ethnic or cultural minority groups would tend towards higher levels of tension at certain points than some other associations.

Evidence for multiple affiliations specifically is part of the picture of both interactions between groups (with members to some degree bridging connections between associations) and competition for allegiances. Here too there are indications that some Judeans and some Christians as cultural minorities were nonetheless engaged in *informal* assimilation, as I explained that concept in chapters 5 and 6. Some individual Judeans and Christians affiliated with other groups or associations within the civic context while also being *en*culturated into the specific ways of a given minority group. Alongside these areas of assimilation or tendencies towards biculturalism, there were areas of cultural maintenance that could contribute towards rivalries and tensions that arose, in part, from cultural minority positions. In the next chapter, I explore certain cases of such tensions involving stereotypes about cultural minority groups.

48. Cf. *IEph* 972, 1573 (πατρογέρων, "son of a *gerousia* member").
49. On reduced rates for sons, see Ziebarth 1896, 156.

8

Perceptions of Cultural Minorities

Anti-Associations and Their Banquets

Introduction

"These people are Antropophagos [*sic*] or Men Eaters." This quotation is found on a map of inland Africa in William Snelgrave's travel report of 1734, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea and the Slave-Trade*.[1] At this point, inland Africa was, in reality, unknown to Britons. Yet the characterization of peoples living in a "Kingdom of Temian" as cannibals illustrates common processes of "othering," identity formulation, and boundary marking that were also at work in antiquity.

These processes of describing foreign peoples or cultural minority groups as barbarous and threatening outsiders are reflected in Greek novels, histories, and ancient ethnographic materials. Here "ethnography" refers to ancient writings claiming to describe the customs of other ethnic groups or cultural minorities. In this chapter, I examine how cultural minority groups such as Judean (Jewish) gatherings and Christian congregations could, at times, be a target in these processes of identity construction and expression. Judeans and Christians were involved within ethnic rivalries in the ancient context.

Identity theorists are concerned not only with internal group identification, which has been the primary occupation in many chapters here, but also with how those outside a particular group categorize or label that group or its members.[2] Internally, I have shown numerous ways in which members of Judean gatherings and Christian congregations defined themselves and expressed group identity within a broader context. It is important to note that group identities could sometimes be expressed in ways that converged with certain external perceptions of synagogues and congregations, as I demonstrated regarding shared terminology and self-designations.

In this chapter, I turn to some negative aspects of external perceptions and consider how external processes of categorization were at work in the case of cultural minorities such as Judeans and followers of Jesus. I have already touched on the significance of ethnic stereotyping in discussing ethnic groups such as Syrians, Phoenicians, and Judeans. Social

1. See Wheeler 1999, 16–17.
2. On this, see especially Tajfel 1981; Hagendoorn 1993; Jenkins 1994.

and ethnic identity theorists, including Henri Tajfel and Richard Jenkins, stress that how one is perceived by others, regardless of how far this is from any element of truth, plays some role in the construction, negotiation, and expression of identities and in the redefinition of group boundaries.

On the other hand, the act of describing those outside one's own cultural group is, in part, a process of describing one's own communal identity. It is by defining "them" that the sense of "us" is reinforced or reformulated. So once again this pertains to issues of identity. Yet this chapter focusses on identity from the perspective of how some outsiders described peoples outside of their own group, peoples who were sometimes considered barbarous or dangerous.

Social customs of eating and banquets of associations specifically could play an important role in such discourses of "the other," discourses concerning other peoples or groups considered foreign in some way. In fact, accusations of cannibalism, together with accompanying notions of human sacrifice, were a recurring element in how certain people presented the identities of others—some Christians among them—as destructive to the very fabric of civilized society.

Mary Douglas's anthropological work on the ways in which the human, physical body and activities affecting the body (including eating, sexual customs, etc.) are representative of society and representations of society is suggestive here.[3] From this body/society correspondence-theory perspective, the accusation of eating the human body can be interpreted as the equivalent of charging others with destroying human society itself.

The meal practices of small groups or associations often play a role in these discourses of the other. Several ostensibly historical or openly fictional accounts from the Hellenistic and Roman periods present a picture of what one might call wildly transgressive behaviour within associations. In particular, there are a number of accounts of activities within associations that focus on human sacrifice, cannibalism, and extreme sexual activities, among other things. Within Greek and Roman novels, there is a consistency in the use of bandit associations, in particular, to present a picture of improper social, commensal, and ritual behaviour within informal, small group settings. Yet similar categorizations and stereotypes also inform the likes of Livy's supposedly historical account of the "alien" rites of Dionysiac associations in Rome.

Such stories of wild transgression in both fictional and historical narratives draw on ethnographic stereotypes of "the other" in order to present a frightening picture of the dangerous or alien anti-association within society. This inversion depends on common knowledge of the far more tame convivial and ritual aims of real-life associations as attested in epigraphy. Moreover, the picture of the outlaw or foreign anti-association that emerges in the material discussed here provides an essential interpretive framework for allegations against cultural minority groups, such as the Judeans of Cyrene who were accused of eating human flesh and making belts from the entrails of their victims and the early Christian groups who were charged with Oedipean unions (incest) and Thyestean feasts (cannibalism).

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3. Douglas 1973, 93–112.

Wildly Transgressive Banquets in the Imagination

Several accounts of scurrilous banquets and rituals attributed to criminal and other low-life groups survive in Greek and Latin novels, such that Susan A. Stephens and John J. Winkler can suggest that these themes constitute a "subgenre in the field of ancient fiction."[4] We shall see that there was a complicated interplay between these literary conventions, on the one hand, and both historical narratives and popular imagination about foreign peoples or cultural minority groups, on the other. In some novels ancient fiction writers specifically have associations in mind (whether an occupational guild, a cultic society, a foreign group, or a mixture of these) when they tell tales of such wild meetings and banquets, particularly in connection with brigands or bandits (*latrones* in Latin, λῃσταί in Greek).[5] In essence, the villainous group can be presented as the antitype of what an association should be, as well as an inversion of all that is pious and right. Discussion of some narratives in both novels and historical works will flesh out this inverted picture of the association at banquet (the "anti-association," as I call it), setting the stage for an evaluation of similar charges against real-life cultural minority groups and associations.

"They Ate and Drank in Utter Disorder"

The connection with associations is most explicit in Apuleius's second-century story of a band of brigands (*latrones*) who captured both Lucius, the ass, and Charite, an upper-class "maiden of refined qualities" (*Met.* 3.28–4.25; 6.25–7.12). These brigands are cast as trained professionals (4.9) and military men, and they are repeatedly termed a "guild" (*collegium*), as when a member addresses his fellows concerned that they behave in a manner "in keeping with the principles of our guild" (*Met.* 6.31; also see 4.15; 7.1, 7, 8).[6] We are also told that the patron deity of this guild is Mars, to whom they offer their sacrifices.

In this story, the overall behaviour of the association at meals is summarized thus:

> They ate and drank in utter disorder, swallowing meat by the heap, bread by the stack, and cups by the legion. They played raucously, sang deafeningly, and joked abusively, and in every other respect behaved just like those half-beasts, the Lapiths and Centaurs (*Met.* 4.8).

Here we are witnessing an inversion of common Greek banqueting values. The brigands are characterized as excessive and subhuman in their banqueting manners, as the comparison with the feast of the Lapiths and Centaurs indicates. The wedding celebration of

4. Stephens and Winkler 1995, 7.

5. On brigands in fiction see, most recently, Henrichs 1970, 18–35; Winkler 1980, 155–81; Jones 1980, 243–54; Bertrand 1988, 139–49; Hopwood 1998, 195–204; Trinquier 1999, 257–77; Watanabe 2003. On accusations of banditry as a metaphor for the "de-stated" or "barbaric" nonperson, see Shaw 1984, 3–52.

6. Trans. Hanson 1989 (LCL).

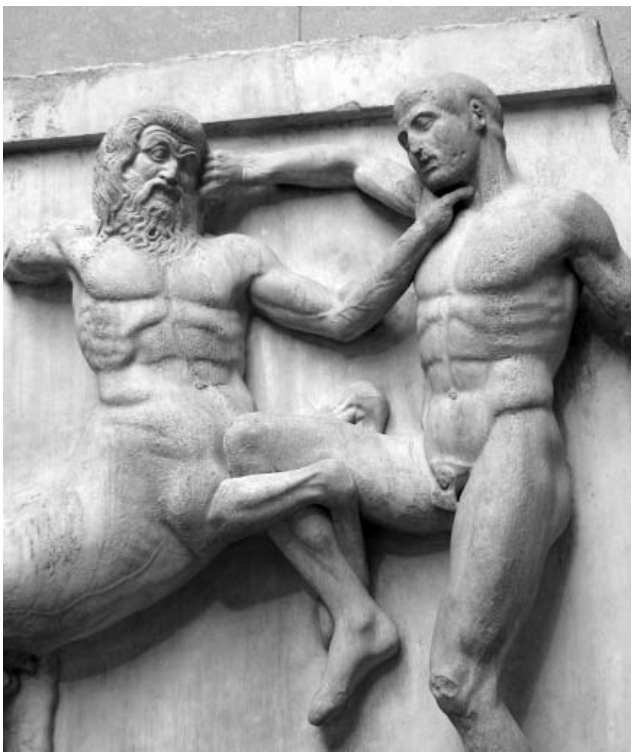

Figure 19. Architrave depicting a struggle between a Lapith and Centaur, from the Parthenon at Athens, now in the British Museum (fifth cent. BCE)

Peirithous, a Lapith, ended in utter violence between the two peoples as a result of the drunken behaviour of a Centaur. These mythical figures were considered the epitome of terrible and violent banqueting behaviour, as evidenced in the title of Lucian's satirical *Symposium, or The Lapiths*, and in many artistic representations.[7] Pictured in figure 19 is a struggle between a Lapith and a Centaur as portrayed above the architrave of the Parthenon at Athens (fifth cent. BCE).

The main characteristic of the situation in Apuleius's novel is that disorder prevails within the association, or *collegium*. The conversation of the bandits while feasting heightens the sense of impropriety as it centers on the details of their underhanded activities that day, which are far from appropriate topics for the symposium as outlined by the likes of Plutarch in his *Symposium*. What comes to the fore in other accounts of the brigands' meals is only hinted at in Apuleius's story in connection with their new brigand chief from Thrace who was "nursed on human blood" (*Met.* 7.5; cf. Herodotus *Hist.* 4.64).

7. Cf. Homer *Od.* 21.285–304; Pausanias *Descr.* 1.17.2; 1.28.2; 5.10.8.

"They Sacrificed a Human Being and Partook of the Flesh"

Particularly common in portraits of the antibanquets of brigand and other groups is the transgressive practice of human sacrifice accompanied by a cannibalistic meal, the ultimate parody of the sacrificial banquet. Such tales of human sacrifice are found in a variety of contexts in antiquity, particularly in ethnographic descriptions of foreign peoples or cultural minority groups, in narratives of conspiracy (which effectively barbarize certain Greeks or Romans), and in narratives with entertainment purposes, such as novels.

James Rives's study of the social meaning of human sacrifice in antiquity shows how human sacrifice acts as a sign within discourses of barbarity versus civilization and of piety versus "superstition" or "magic" (namely, activities perceived as inappropriate ritual practice).[8] Moreover, in virtually all accounts of such wild transgressions, we are witnessing ethnographic discourses that deal with description of the other, whether that other is a remote "barbarian" people or a more dangerous enemy within. Here I focus primarily on associations specifically, only touching on broader issues of human sacrifice insofar as they clarify notions of supposed counter-cultural behaviour within small-group settings.

Among the more controversial accounts is the description of a human sacrifice (a child or a servant) and the accompanying meal in fragments of a second-century Greek novel by Lollianos, entitled *A Phoenician Story* (*Phoenikika*).[9] The instigators of the sacrifice in this fragment are never expressly called brigands, even though most scholars who have dealt with the passage assume so.[10] Perhaps we are safer in generally referring to them as "low-lifes" or, as Winkler puts it, "desperadoes."

For present purposes it is important to point to an explicit designation in the fragmentary text: in the midst of the narrative, there is a reference to the "ones being initiated" (τοῖς μυουμένοις). We need not agree with those who read the novels allegorically and see hidden mystic connections throughout (as does Reinhold Merkelbach, reflected in Henrichs), nor with those who, in reaction, tend to downplay the author's explicit references to mysteries (e.g., Winkler and C. P. Jones).[11] I would suggest that we can discuss this episode in terms of a low-life association of initiates, an inverted picture of associations of initiates (μύσται) that are widely attested in the epigraphic record, as discussed in previous chapters. As I show in connection with Livy's account of the Bacchanalia, there are cases when ancient authors ascribe ritual murder and related criminal activities to real-life groups that engaged in mysteries, particularly those devoted to foreign deities.[12]

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8. Rives 1995, 65–85.

9. *POxy* 1368 + *PColon* 3328 (here the focus is on the narrative in B1 recto). For a critical edition of the text see Henrichs 1972 and, most recently, Stephens and Winkler 1995, 314–57 (with Greek text and extensive commentary).

10. Henrichs goes further in identifying them with the brigand "cowherds" (βουκόλοι) attested in Dio Cassius and in other novels (Henrichs 1970, 33, 35). On the problems with that view, see Stephens and Winkler 1995, 319–21.

11. E.g., Merkelbach 1995. See the critique in Winkler 1980; Jones 1980; Beck 1996, 131–50.

12. On ritual murder and Mithras, see Vermaseren 1963, 166–68; Turcan 1981, 350 nn. 6–7. On "jars of human flesh" accidentally discovered in the temple of Bellona (often identified with the Cappadocian goddess Ma), see Dio Cassius 42.26.2–3.

The fragmentary episode in Lollianos—which begins with the sacrifice of the child or servant, a sacrificial oath ritual, and a sacrificial meal—runs as follows:

> Meanwhile another man, who was naked, walked by, wearing a crimson loincloth, and throwing the body of the *pais* (child or servant) on its back, he cut it up, and tore out its heart and placed it upon the fire. Then, he took up [the cooked heart] and sliced it up to the middle. And on the surface [of the slices] he sprinkled [barley groats] and wet it with oil; and when he had sufficiently prepared them, [he gave them to the] initiates, and those who held (a slice?) [he ordered] to swear in the blood of the heart that they would neither give up nor betray [--------], not [even if they are led off to prison], nor yet if they be tortured.[13]

As Henrichs points out, this whole sacrificial scene follows the usual Greek pattern of sacrifice, including the central importance of the internal organs or entrails (σπλάγχνα).[14] Also not unusual is the accompanying oath ceremony, in which portions of the innards were consumed together as a symbolic means of binding participants. What is extremely unusual, and deliberately inverts what would otherwise be considered pious activity in honour of the gods, is the fact that it is a human, rather than an animal, victim in this ritual.

Following the sacrifice, the oath ceremony, and the meal came further drinking and entertainment as "they sang, drank, had intercourse with the women in full view of Androtimos (either the leader of the initiates or a captive of the outlaws; B1 Verso, lines 20–21).[15] Shortly thereafter the participants put on robes, smeared their faces with black or white, and departed, likely to engage in further criminal activity in disguise. The author of this novel is certainly not the first to combine both human sacrifice and oath-taking in an inversion of common ritual, as the tales of the conspiracy (*coniuratio*; lit., "swearing together") of Cataline clearly show.[16]

Cataline was among the main political opponents of Cicero (for the consulship, the highest political position at that time) in the city of Rome during the Republican era (in the 60s BCE). Legends about his conspiratorial activities involving human sacrifice developed over time: Sallust mentions Cataline and his co-conspirator's oath that was sealed by partaking from "bowls of human blood mixed with wine" (*Bell. Cat.* 22.1–2); Plutarch claims that "they sacrificed a human being and partook of the flesh" (*Cic.* 10.4); and Dio Cassius asserts that the conspirators "sacrificed a *pais* [child or servant] and after administering the oath over his vitals, ate these in company with the others" (37.30.3).[17] Such accusations against one's compatriots were a succinct way of placing opponents, or disliked

13. *PColon* 3328, B 1 recto, lines 9–16. Trans. Stephens and Winkler 1995, 338–41.

14. Henrichs 1970, 33–34.

15. Both Jones and Stephens and Winkler point out some striking similarities between the story here and that in Apuleius's *Met.* (esp. 4.8–33), including a reference to Lapiths as prototypes of unruly banqueters, such that some literary relation is likely (see Jones 1980; Winkler 1980; Stephens and Winkler 1995, 322–25).

16. Cf. Dölger 1934, 207–10; Rives 1995, 72–73; Diodorus Siculus 22.3.5; Plutarch *Publ.* 4.1; Philostratus *Vit. Apoll.* 7.11, 20, 33.

17. Trans. Rolfe 1921 (LCL); Perrin 1916–20 (LCL); Cary 1960–84 (LCL).

politicians of the past, beyond the pale of humanity and civilization, a way of "barbarizing" a fellow Greek or Roman, as Rives puts it.[18]

Though references to "initiates" are lacking in some other cases, there are similar stories of human sacrifice in other novels that present bands of brigands as the ultimate criminal cultic group or association. Thus in Xenophon's second-century *Ephesian Tale* we find a band of brigands (λῃστήριον), led by one Hippothoos, collecting statues, wood, and garlands in preparation for a sacrifice in honour of their patron deity, Ares. It turns out that the "usual manner" for their sacrifices is to "hang the intended victim, human or animal, from a tree and throw javelins at it from a distance" (*Ephesiaka* 2.13). In this case, their intended victim is saved at the last moment by the police chief of the region of Cilicia in Asia Minor, who has most of the brigands killed.

Another instance involves a close call, but in Achilles Tatius's second-century novel (ca. 150–175 CE) the sacrifice apparently takes place.[19] This episode includes the bandit "herdsmen" or "cowherds" (βουκόλοι) of the Egyptian Delta, based at a place called Nikochis (*Leuc. Clit.* 4.12.8). It combines the internal threat of robbers with the common fear of "barbarian" (here non-Greek) peoples which is characteristic of ancient travel literature, or ethnography. The "cowherds," who are recurring characters not only in novels but also historical writings, are here presented as "wild frightening men, all large and black" and they "all shouted in a foreign language" (3.9). The narrator, Clitophon, wishes that he and his travelling companions had been captured by Greek bandits instead (3.10).

Ultimately, Clitophon and Leucippe, the protagonists, are separated, and Clitophon escapes from the brigands when they are attacked by the Egyptian army (*Leuc. Clit.* 3.13–14). Then, from a distance, Clitophon witnesses his beloved Leucippe, still in the hands of the brigands. The first person narrative heightens the horror as we witness the brigands' preparations for a sacrifice under the direction of their "priest" (ἱερεύς), creating an altar and pouring a libation over Leucippe's head. The participants lead her in a sacrificial procession to the accompaniment of flutes as the Egyptian priest chants a hymn:

> Then at a signal they all moved far away from the altar. One of the attendants laid her on her back and tied her to stakes fixed in the ground. . . . He next raised a sword and plunged it into her heart and then sawed all the way down to her abdomen. Her viscera leaped out. The attendants pulled out her entrails and carried them in their hands over to the altar. When it was well done they carved the whole lot up, and all the bandits shared the meal. . . . All this was done according to the rubrics sanctioned by the priest. (*Leuc. Clit.* 3.15)[20]

Clitophon stood there in "sheer shock," a shock that no doubt is meant to be shared by the reader, or hearer, of this story. But we soon learn that Leucippe is alive and well, and the two men (who had only pretended their allegiance to the brigand group after their capture) had successfully fooled the brigands using some stage props and special effects (animals' entrails and a trick sword).

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18. Rives 1995, 73. On the "political cannibal" see McGowan 1994, 431–33.
19. Cf. Bertrand 1988.
20. Trans. Winkler in Reardon 1989, 216.

The sacrifice of a virgin was, in part,[21] to be the "initiation" of these two men into the brigand association, as the chief brigand (λῃστάρχος) informed them: "We have a tradition that sacrifices, especially human sacrifices, must be performed by the newly initiated (πρωτομύσται)." "Yes sir! We are ready to live up to the highest standards of banditry" was the reply of the initiates-to-be (*Leuc. Clit.* 3.22; cf. 3.19).

The case of the "cowherds" of Egypt happens to provide an instance where history and fiction are intimately intertwined, and where the accusations of barbaric human sacrifice recur again in historical sources.[22] We know from Strabo that there were indeed people that went by the designation "cowherds" (βουκόλοι) in the Egyptian Delta region before the time of Augustus. Yet these are initially described as herdspeople who were also brigands (λῃσταί) in a matter-of-fact manner with no elaboration on any extreme social or ritual conventions beyond their occupation, which included the positive role (in the view of earlier Egyptian kings, so Strabo claims) of warding off foreigners, namely Greeks (*Geogr.* 17.1.6; 17.1.19).

Now a papyrus scroll from the Egyptian Delta confirms ongoing references to these brigands in 166/167 CE, where they are described by an outsider as "the impious Neikokeitai (τῶν ἀνοσίων Νεικωκειτῶν)," which is in keeping with the base at Nikochis which Tatius mentions in his novel.[23] The same descriptive term, "impious" (ἀνοσίος), is used of the Judeans in connection with the revolt under Trajan, by the way. Furthermore, another second-century papyrus contains an oracle that deals with disturbances and seems to refer to the death of "cowherds," presumably as part of the solution to the disturbance.[24] By the time Dio Cassius writes his history (ca. 211–222 CE), then, there has been opportunity for the development of tales surrounding these threatening figures of the Delta. As Winkler convincingly argues, we are here witnessing a case of "history imitating story," more so than the other way around.[25]

Dio's account of a revolt in 172/173 CE involving the "cowherds" happens to mention that the group was led by an Egyptian priest (ἱερεύς) Isidorus.[26] Dio claims that some of the "cowherds" dressed as women and pretended to offer ransom for the release of prisoners in order to deceive and capture a Roman centurion and other soldiers involved in quelling the revolt. This is where Dio moves on to the sort of stereotypical accusations that are in keeping with tales of the supposed criminal behaviour of political conspirators and "barbarous"

21. The sacrifice was also the means by which the brigands hoped to purify their citadel and gain the upper hand in battles with Egyptian troops (3.19).

22. On the "cowherds," also see Heliodorus *An Ethiopian Story* (cf. Xenophon *An Ephesian Tale* 3.12); Winkler 1980, 175–81; Bowersock 1994, 51–53; Frankfurter 1998, 207–8; Rutherford 2000.

23. See Fuks 1953, 157–58.

24. *PThmouis* 1, col. 104, line 13 and col. 116, lines 4–5. See Shelton 1976, 209–13; Frankfurter 1998, 208 n. 46; cf. Bertrand 1988; Bowersock 1994, 53.

25. Winkler 1980, 178. Cf. Herodotus *Hist.* 4.106, describing the so-called Androphagi.

26. This priestly leadership of the group seems to be echoed in Heliodorus's fictional narrative in which the brigand chief Thyamis is the son of a high priest of Memphis (*An Ethiopian Story* 1.19; cf. Frankfurter 1998, 208). The account in Tatius, discussed above, likewise mentions the presence of a priest within the group.

peoples: "They also sacrificed his [the centurion's] companion, and after swearing an oath over his entrails, they devoured them" (Dio Cassius 72.4.1–2).[27]

Furthermore, there seems to be some consistency in Dio's choice of the charge of human sacrifice and cannibalism against supposedly barbarous peoples in connection with revolts specifically. For when he describes the revolt of Judeans in Cyrene, who were "destroying both the Romans and the Greeks," he claims that "they would eat the flesh of their victims, make belts for themselves of their entrails, anoint themselves with their blood and wear their skins for clothing" (68.32.1–2). For Dio and some others, this was not out of the ordinary for such foreign peoples: Dio suggests that the Judean immigrants in Egypt and on Cyprus had "perpetrated many similar outrages" (68.32.2). The blurring of the line between history and reality, fact and fiction, that Dio's account of the "cowherds" illustrates so well extends to other supposed historical accounts and popular reports concerning real-life associations and cultural minorities.

Accusations of Wild Transgression and Cultural Minority Groups

"Away . . . You Who Suck Men's Blood"

Notorious is the case of the suppression of worshippers of Bacchus, namely Dionysos, in Rome and Italy beginning in 186 BCE (Livy *Hist. Rom.* 39.8–19). Many studies have struggled with historical, political, ritual, and other dimensions of Livy's account of the Bacchanalia and with the epigraphic decree concerning actions by the Roman senate, which shows that Livy is not making the whole thing up.[28] Here I am less concerned with the question of Roman suppression of Bacchic groups in the early second century, which has been dealt with extensively in scholarship. Instead, I want to consider how the Roman historian Livy, in about 20 BCE, presents this particular case as a story of a "foreign" (Greek) association threatening the Roman way of life and contributing to moral decline.[29] I am interested in Livy's account as description of the alien "other" within, and in what accusations of wild transgression are made concerning the nature of the meetings, initiations, and banquets of these Dionysiac associations. It is important to consider to what degree the charges of ritual murder and sexual perversion may be a consequence of Livy's ethnographic, artistic, or novelistic license.

It is important to note the position of this whole incident within Livy's history: the Bacchanalia affair takes place almost immediately following Livy's characterization of the 180s BCE as the "seeds" of moral decline at Rome. From Livy's perspective, the moral decline was due, in large part, to the influence of foreign ways and featured, in particular,

27. Trans. Cary 1960–84 (LCL).

28. See, more recently, North 1979, 85–103; Rousselle 1982; Gruen 1990, 34–78; Walsh 1996, 188–203.

29. Cf. Dio Cassius, 52.36.2.

imported styles of convivial entertainment and elaborate banquets from "Asia" (*Hist. Rom.* 39.6).[30] The Bacchanalia incident is presented as one further case of this decline.

As P. G. Walsh convincingly shows, there is no need to doubt the "bare bones" of Livy's account in terms of the overall incident and the action of the senate. But there is an important distinction to be made regarding the relative reliability of two main sections of the narrative, between the first, longer section (Livy *Hist. Rom.* 39.8.1–39.14.3) and the second, shorter section dealing with the meeting with the senate (from 39.14.3). "What goes before is clearly a romantic and dramatic expansion of [Postumius's] report, whereas what follows is based on senatorial records, and is more solidly historical."[31] It is precisely in the former, novelistic section that descriptions of wild activities of the association are elaborated in most lurid detail.

In agreement with Erich Gruen's observation that the account "evokes the atmosphere of a romantic novel—or better, Hellenistic and Roman New Comedy," Walsh then goes on to argue that evidence in Plautus, a contemporary of the Bacchic suppression, suggests that Bacchic themes "may have featured as the plot of a comic or mimic drama" and that this "has left its mark on the historiographical tradition" (on both Livy's sources and on Livy's own history writing).[32] Among the ongoing jokes in Plautus about the dangers of Bacchic orgies (also cited in this section's subtitle) is one character's statement: "Away from me, sisters [bacchants], you who suck men's blood."[33]

Livy's account begins with the alien nature of these Dionysiac groups, speaking of a "Greek of humble origin" whose "method of infecting people's minds with error was not by the open practice of his rites and the public advertisement of his trade and his system; he was the hierophant [revealer of sacred objects] of secret ceremonies performed at night" (Livy *Hist. Rom.* 39.8).[34] The initiations, Livy continues, "soon began to be widespread among men and women. The pleasures of drinking and feasting were added to the rituals to attract a larger number of followers. When wine had inflamed their feelings, and night and the mingling of the sexes and of different ages had extinguished all power of moral judgement, all sorts of corruption began to be practiced" (39.8). We then learn of other illegal activities, including supply of false witnesses, forging of documents, perjury, and, most frighteningly, wholesale murder.

The most lurid accusations in Livy's account, which spells out the aforementioned "corruption," appear in a passage that is considered among the least historical sections of the story: namely, the first-hand descriptions of the secretive practices of a former member, Hispala, that had for some reason remained undetected until her report.[35] First, Livy has Hispala outline the crimes in private to warn the initiate-to-be, her lover, Aebutius (Livy *Hist. Rom.* 39.9–10). But it is in the second, more official report to the consul, Postumius (39.13), that the lurid details of extreme sex and ritual murder come to the fore.

In this second report to the consul, Hispala relates how initiations in the Dionysiac

30. Cf. Walsh 1996, 189–90.
31. Walsh 1996, 193.
32. Gruen 1990, 62; Walsh 1996, 192.
33. *Bacchides* 52ff., 368ff., as cited by Walsh 1996.
34. Trans. Bettenson 1976, with minor adaptations (text in Sage 1965).
35. Cf. North 1979, 88–90; Gruen 1990, 61–65.

mysteries originally only took place three times a year in daylight, but that more recently the meetings had increased to five days each month at night. Not only that, but membership had increased greatly by this time, including participants from among the Roman elites. Then come the details of moral degradation inspired by foreign rites:

> From the time when the rites were held promiscuously, with men and women mixed together, and when the license offered by darkness had been added, no sort of crime, no kind of immorality, was left unattempted. There were more obscenities practiced between men than between men and women. Anyone refusing to submit to outrage or reluctant to commit crimes was slaughtered as a sacrificial victim. To regard nothing as forbidden was among these people the summit of religious achievement. (Livy *Hist. Rom.* 39.13)

Here we are seeing the common stereotypes so familiar to us now of wild banquets combined with human sacrifice. Yet added to this is the accusation of sexual "perversions" that accompanied the drinking.

Ethnographic descriptions in which foreign peoples are accused of unusual sexual practices are common, as in Tacitus's account of the Judeans' supposed "unlawful" sexual behaviour (*Hist.* 5.5.2; cf. Martial *Epigr.* 7.30).[36] This combination of inverted banqueting and perverted sexual practices would recur in the list of counter-cultural practices attributed to the early Christians as well. Livy provides another clear case where fiction informed by ethnographic stereotypes of the criminal tendencies of foreign peoples informs the description of real-life associations, in this case an association with mysteries. Inversion of proper banqueting and drinking practices, as well as distorted sacrificial rites, are again at the heart of the allegations.

Inscriptional and papyrological evidence for the actual banqueting and sacrificial activities of associations of various kinds, including many Dionysiac associations, comes across as far less exciting, one might even say bland, in relation to these more extreme, imaginative materials. In particular, although there are indications of abusive conduct, and drinking was most certainly a component in such matters, there were simultaneously widely shared values which set parameters on banqueting behaviour within associations and which, from time to time, could be carved in stone. Moreover, the association regulations or sacred laws of the Greco-Roman era that have survived and been uncovered (such as the rule of the Iobacchoi at Athens sketched in figure 20) are concerned with issues of order and decorum in meetings, rituals, and banquets.[37] For example, the rules of the devotees of Zeus Hypsistos, which are echoed elsewhere, include the following: "It shall not be permissible for any one of [the members]. . . to make factions or to leave the brotherhood of the president for another, or for men to enter into one another's pedigrees at the

36. Cf. Tertullian *Marc.*, 1, where Tertullian speaks of the unusual sexual practices of the people of Pontus in an attempt to critique his Christian opponent, Marcion of Pontus.

37. See, for instance, the regulations of the *collegium* devoted to Diana and Antinoos at Lanuvium in Italy (*CIL* XIV 2112; 136 CE), the devotees of Bacchos at Athens (*IG* II² 1368; 176 CE), and several associations at Tebtunis in Egypt (*PMich* V 243–245; mid-first century CE). Cf. Boak 1937, 210–19; Dennis E. Smith 2003, 97–131.

symposium or to abuse one another at the symposium or to chatter or to indict or accuse another or to resign the course of the year or again to bring the symposia to nought . . ." (*PLond* 2710; ca. 69–58 BCE).[38] Although rules may often be drawn up to deal with problems that were actually encountered, the regulations suggest that "good order"—as defined by such groups—remained a prevalent value in many banqueting settings. So we should not imagine that stories of wild transgression are descriptive of real activities in immigrant or cultural minority groups, or in other associations.

"Come! Plunge the Knife into the Baby": Judeans and Jesus-followers

Since the classic work on accusations of infanticide against Christians by F. J. Dölger, a number of studies have focused on explaining the Thyestean feasts (cannibalism) and Oedipean unions (incest) mentioned in connection with the martyrs of Lyons, among them the important contributions by Albert Henrichs and Robert M. Grant.[39] More recently, M. J. Edwards and Andrew McGowan have independently focused their attention on the Christian evidence and have come to similar conclusions regarding the origins of these accusations. Both scholars challenge the suggestion of Grant and others that the accusations emerged out of a misunderstanding of the actual practices of Christians (namely, a misunderstanding of the eucharist—eating the body and blood of Christ—and the custom of addressing one another as "brother" or "sister").[40] Edwards convincingly argues that it is what the Christians did *not* do—that they did not sacrifice to or fully acknowledge the gods of the Greeks and Romans—that made them stand out as foreign. Dölger was "correct to surmise that pagan controversialists were filling a lacuna in their knowledge of Christian practices, just as they were wont to attribute every peculiarity to barbarians."[41]

Although the accusations against Christians, as well as their Judean precedents, have drawn the attention of many scholars, few fully address these allegations within the framework of ethnography and descriptions of dangerous or foreign *associations* specifically. Whereas the material concerning the outlaws in Lollianos's episode figure somewhat importantly in recent discussions of the Christian evidence, especially Henrich's study,[42] few sufficiently place the discussion within the framework of the outlaw or foreign anti-associations discussed here. Nor have these ethnographic discourses and accusations been explained within the framework of theories of social identity and external categorization, which I have outlined in connection with stereotypes about Syrians and others in chapter 5.

Returning to these ancient instances of social categorization, it is important to outline some of the Judean precedents before moving on to allegations against others who hon-

38. Trans. Roberts, Skeat, and Nock 1936, 42, with adaptations.

39. Henrichs 1970. Cf. Henrichs 1981, 195–235; Grant 1981, 161–70.

40. Edwards 1992, 71–82; McGowan 1994. See chapter 3 in this volume, which shows the difficulties in assuming that the Christian practice of calling one another "brother" was unique (which is an assumption behind Grant's theory).

41. Edwards 1992, 74; cf. Rives 1995.

42. Henrichs 1970.

Figure 20. Sketch of the rules of the Bacchic association (Iobacchoi) at Athens, from Harrison 1906, figure 25.

oured the Judean God, namely, followers of Jesus.[43] Many ancient ethnographic descriptions of the Judeans by Greek, Egyptian, and other authors have been gathered together in Menahem Stern's *Greek and Latin Authors on Jews and Judaism* (1974–84) and have been recently discussed in works such as Peter Schäfer's *Judeophobia* (1997). These descriptions provide important evidence regarding external categorizations and stereotypes regarding Judeans.

In discussing the customs of the Judeans, both Damocritos and Apion (or Apion's source) give credence to rumours, or simply create stories, that Judeans engaged in human sacrifice. Attributed to the Greek author Damocritos (perhaps late first century CE) is the idea that Judeans worshiped the statue of an ass and that every seven years they "caught a foreigner and sacrificed him," cutting him into pieces.[44] There is a sense in which the accusation of human sacrifice is a short form for notions of Judeans' supposed hostility

43. On such accusations against Judeans, see Bickerman 1980, 225–55; Feldman 1993, 123–76; Peter Schäfer 1997.

44. Trans. by Stern 1974–84, 1.531.

to foreigners (μισόξενος βίος), as in Hecataeus (ca. 300 BCE), and hatred of human kind (μισανθρωπία), as in Apollonios Molon (first century BCE).[45]

More extensive is the tale of the Judeans' sacrifice of foreigners, namely Greeks, as told by Apion (contemporary of Philo in first-century Alexandria, Egypt). This Apion authored works that critiqued the ways of Judeans and others; this spurred a response by Josephus, appropriately called *Against Apion*. Apion also played a more direct role as an ambassador for the Greeks of Alexandria in their rivalries with local Judeans, which I mentioned in chapter 1 in connection with Philo's role as ambassador for the Judeans.

Apion's account of an incident in connection with the time of Antiochus Epiphanes (160s BCE) claims to be based on the report of a fattened escapee.[46] According to the story, the Judeans had captured this Greek in order to fulfill the "unutterable law of the Judeans": annually, "they would kidnap a Greek foreigner, fatten him up for a year, and then convey him to a wood, where they slew him, sacrificed his body with their customary ritual, partook of his flesh, and, while immolating the Greek, swore an oath of hostility to the Greeks" (Josephus *C. Ap.* 2.91–96).[47]

Here there is once again the reference to making an oath on a human victim, which was common in stories of criminal or political conspiracy, such as those associated with Cataline and the bandits in Lollianos's novel. Similar charges continued against Judean associations in the diaspora specifically. We have already seen this in the case of Dio Cassius's account of the supposed cannibalistic commensal behaviour of Judeans during the revolts in Cyrene, Cyprus, and Egypt.

This brings us, finally, to the anti-banquets attributed to another set of cultural minority groups with Judean connections in the diaspora setting: followers of Jesus. This is not the place to engage in full analysis of all cases that have been discussed at length in scholarship.[48] Yet it will be worthwhile briefly to outline some of the Christian evidence in order to place it in the context of the present discussion of cultural minority groups and discourses of the other. These accusations, like the stories of bandit anti-associations, political conspiracy, and alien cults, arise from a common stockpile of stereotypes of the threatening other, and there is no need to look for any basis in the reality of actual practices.

As early as Pliny the Younger (ca. 110 CE), who as we saw in chapter 1 thinks of the Christians as both an "association" and an un-Roman or foreign "superstition," there are indications that rumours were circulating about the Christians in Pontus. At least this seems to be the case, if we can read Pliny's mention of "food of an ordinary and harmless kind" as an allusion to a rumoured "crime" (*flagitium*) of cannibalism (Pliny *Ep.* 10.96.7; cf. Tacitus *Ann.* 15.44.2).[49] In fact, Pliny seems to have in mind the typical portrait of the criminal, conspiratorial, or low-life association (though not necessarily the Bacchanalia specifically) when he states that these Christians "bind themselves by oath, not for any criminal

45. Texts in Stern 1974–84. Cf. Feldman 1993, 125–48; Peter Schäfer 1997, 15–17, 21–22, 170–79.

46. Schäfer convincingly argues against Bickerman's view that Apion's story originated in the time of Epiphanes (Schäfer 1997, 62–65; cf. Rives 1995, 70–71).

47. Trans. Thackeray 1926 (LCL).

48. See, most recently, Henrichs 1970; Benko 1980, 1055–118; Edwards 1992; McGowan 1994.

49. On rumours of "crimes" (*flagitia*), see Tacitus *Ann.* 15.44 and Suetonius *Nero* 16.2.

purpose, but to abstain from theft, robbery, and adultery, to commit no breach of trust and not to deny a deposit when called upon to restore it" (*Ep.* 10.96.7).[50]

Around 150 CE, Justin Martyr mentions the accusations of sexual licence and eating of human flesh (*Apol.* 1.26.7). The charges of "Thyestean feasts" (cannibalism) and "Oedipean unions" (incest) are explicit in the letter from the Greek-speaking Christians of Vienne and Lyons to the Christians in Asia and Phrygia concerning the martyrdoms in 177 CE. There the accused are also charged with "atheism" (ἄθεος) and "impiety" (ἀσεβές; Eusebius *HE* 5.1.3–5.2.8).

More explicit and detailed charges of infant sacrifice within associations of Jesus-followers come to the fore in the writings of Tertullian and in Minucius Felix. In his discussion of Rumour personified, for instance, Tertullian refutes the charges by exaggerating them to show their absurdity: "Come! plunge the knife into the baby, nobody's enemy, guilty of nothing, everybody's child . . . catch the infant blood; steep your bread with it; eat and enjoy it" (*Apol.* 8.2).

In Minucius Felix's dialogue, Caecilius critiques the atheistic, Christian "gang . . . of discredited and proscribed desperadoes" (*deploratae, inlicitae ac desperatae factionis*) (*Octavius* 8.3).[51] They consist of the dregs of society and women, who are also considered "profane conspirators (*profanae coniurationis*) leagued together by meetings at night and ritual fasts" (*Oct.* 8.3–4). This "superstition" (*superstitio*) is a "promiscuous brotherhood and sisterhood" (*fratres et sorores*) that worship an ass and adore the genitals of their high priest (*Oct.* 9.2–4).

According to Caecilius, the initiation of new members takes place in a sacrificial banquet that once again echoes the anti-banquets we have seen in both novels and ethnographic sources:

> An infant, cased in dough to deceive the unsuspecting, is placed beside the person to be initiated. The novice is thereupon induced to inflict what seems to be harmless blows upon the dough, and unintentionally the infant is killed by his unsuspecting blows; the blood—oh, horrible—they lap up greedily; the limbs they tear to pieces eagerly; and over the victim they make league and covenant, and by complicity in guilt pledge themselves to mutual silence. (*Oct.* 9.5–6)

Finally, reminiscent of Livy's tales of the Bacchanalia, Caecilius speaks of the Christians' banquets in more detail, in which people of all ages and both sexes mingle. After feasting, "when the blood is heated and drink has inflamed the passions of incestuous lust" the lamps are overturned and indiscriminate, incestuous sexual escapades take place in the dark (*Oct.* 9.6–7).

In many respects, then, what we are witnessing with these allegations against Christians is the convergence of several factors: ethnographic stereotypes of the "foreign"

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50. Trans. Radice 1969 (LCL). I am not convinced by Robert M. Grant's suggestion that Pliny may actually have in mind Livy's account of the Bacchanalia (Grant 1948, 273–74; cf. Grant 1970, 12–17).

51. Trans. Glover and Rendall 1931 (LCL). Caecilius's opinions may draw on an earlier source by Marcus Cornelius Fronto (ca. 100–166 CE), on which see *Oct.* 9.6 and Benko 1980, 1081.

association (e.g., Bacchanalia), common allegations against Judean groups specifically, and novelistic or popular stories of the internal threat often associated with criminal or low-life anti-associations. Overall, this is part of the process of Greek or Roman self-definition by means of external categorizations of foreign peoples or cultural minority groups, in this case Christians. In virtually all the cases in this chapter, the inversion or perversion of the shared meal, along with inherent sacrificial connections, stands out as a symbol of the group's relation to surrounding society, as a sign of an anti-societal threat and the epitome of social and religious disorder.

The reactions of certain Judeans and Christians, including Tertullian, to such stereotypes can be placed within the context of social identity theory regarding the relation of external categorizations to internal self-definition. Jenkins outlines a variety of scenarios in how members of a particular cultural minority group react to and internalize external attempts at categorization, categorizations which may be positive, neutral, or pejorative. There are cases when external categorizations overlap significantly with some internal modes of self-identification, as we saw in connection with Judean gatherings and Christian congregations as associations in chapter 1. In such cases of overlap, there may be ready assimilation of external categories to internal identifications and, as Jenkins notes, "some degree of external reinforcement or validation is crucial for the successful maintenance of internal (group) definitions."[52]

At the other end of the continuum are active attempts to resist or reject negative external categorizations. This is what we are seeing in the likes of Justin and Tertullian, who focus on rebutting characterizations of Jesus-followers. Yet even in such cases of resistance, the categorization nonetheless plays a role in internal reconfigurations of self-definition: "the very act of defying categorization, of striving for an autonomy of self-identification, is, of course, an effect of being categorized in the first place. The rejected external definition *is* internalized, but paradoxically, as the focus of denial."[53]

Judean and Christian Critique of the Associations of "Others"

Furthermore, there is something that we could call a backlash in the form of moral critique of the associations of others by some Judean and Christian authors. Like the stereotypes about minority groups, this critique also emphasizes disorderly or dangerous convivial activities of the associations of others. Judeans and Christians themselves engaged in ethnic rivalries. Once again, it is by characterizing outside groups as dangerous and barbarous that particular Judean or Christian authors engage in the expression of their own identities over against the stereotyped image of other cultural or ethnic groups, such as Greeks, Romans, Canaanites, and Egyptians. Categorizing others in negative terms contributes towards internal group self-definition and the negotiation of boundaries between "us" and "them."

Writing some time in the first century BCE or CE, for instance, the author of the Wisdom of Solomon describes the "detestable" activities of those who inhabited the "holy land"

52. Jenkins 1994, 216.
53. Jenkins 1994, 217.

before the arrival of the Israelites (the Canaanites, predecessors of the Phoenicians). It seems that this gives this Judean author opportunity to critique contemporary associations or societies of initiates outside of the Judean sphere in the process, calling on the same sort of stereotypes we have seen in Greek or Roman slander against Judeans (with the help of certain passages in the Hebrew Bible which also accuse Canaanites of similar things). God "hated them for practicing the most detestable things—deeds of sorcery and unholy rites (τελετὰς ἀνοσίους), merciless slaughters of children, sacrificial feasting on human flesh and blood—those initiates from the midst of a society (ἐκ μέσου μύστας θιάσου) and parents who murder helpless lives, you willed to destroy . . ." (Wis 12:4–5; cf. Wis 14:15–23).[54]

At the same time, personified Wisdom herself is an initiate of another, superior kind, an "initiate (μύστις) in the knowledge of God" (Wis 8:4). Elsewhere the author critiques the "idolatry" of Greeks generally, the "impious ones" (ἀσεβοῦς) who do not know such "divine mysteries" (2:22) and who instead establish their own inferior "mysteries and rites" (μυστήρια καὶ τελετάς; 14:15): "For whether performing ritual murders of children or secret mysteries or frenzied revels connected with strange laws, they no longer keep either their lives or their marriages pure, but they either kill one another by treachery or grieve one another by adultery" (Wis 14:23–24). Once again, ritual murder and sexual perversion converge in this characterization of the associations of another ethnic group.

Torrey Seland's (1996) study explores evidence for associations in Philo's writings, where Philo compares Judean and other associations. Philo paints a negative picture of the associations of outsiders. Thus, for instance, Philo's account of the gatherings of the Judean therapeutists in Egypt draws out a comparison of the therapeutists' "synods and symposia" with the "frenzy and madness" of the Greek, Roman, and Egyptian banquets and drinking parties (*Vit. Cont.* 40–41). For Philo, who views Judean gatherings as associations of a superior kind, the associations of others were "founded on no sound principle but on strong liquor, drunkenness, intoxicated violence and their offspring, wantonness" (*Flacc.* 136–37).[55]

In a manner similar to the stories discussed earlier, Philo also accuses non-Judean associations in Egypt of conspiratorial activity: "the associations and synods (ἑταιρείας καὶ συνόδους) [in Alexandria] . . . were constantly holding feasts under pretext of sacrifice in which drunkenness vented itself in political intrigue" (*Flacc.* 4). Philo is also sounding a bit like other upper-class authors such as Pliny the Younger, cited in chapter 1. In fact, in this particular case, Philo is identifying with, and assessing positively, the actions of Flaccus, the Roman imperial prefect (governor) of Egypt. Flaccus had engaged in actions to control some associations that were under the benefactor Isidoros of Alexandria (another ambassador for the Greeks in opposition to the Judeans); these associations had happened to engage in rivalries with Judean groups in Alexandria (cf. *Flacc.* 135–45).[56]

This attempt to compare a minority group with associations while simultaneously claiming the superiority of the minority group and the inferiority of outside groups is also reflected in sections of Tertullian's *Apology*. Tertullian defends the Christian association

54. Trans. NETS, with adaptations.

55. Cf. *Spec. leg.* 2.145–48; *Leg. Gai.* 312–13.

56. On Isodoros, who went from a supporter of Flaccus to a key opponent, also see the so-called *Acts of the Pagan Martyrs* (Musurillo 1954, 98, 117–40; cf. Philo *Flacc.* 137–38).

(*factio*, *corpus*), in part, by portraying other associations negatively. For instance, he claims that financial contributions made by members of Christian associations are "not spent upon banquets nor drinking-parties nor thankless eating-houses," but on helping the poor and facilitating burial of the dead (*Apol.* 39.5–6 and 38–39).[57]

Though there may be truth in the fact that drinking was a part of the celebrations of associations, scholars need to refrain from adopting the moralists' critique as a sign that Greco-Roman or Egyptian associations were all about partying and could not care less about honouring the gods.[58] With both Philo and Tertullian, we are witnessing the expression of Judean or Christian identities in relation to the associations in a way that illustrates the internalization of external categorizations that I outlined in chapter 1. As well, we are seeing resistance to certain aspects of other external categorizations such as the stereotypes discussed here.

Struggles between Different Minority Groups: Intergroup Rivalries among Christians

There are also times when these ethnographic discourses and rivalries play a role in internal struggles and boundary definitions among different cultural minority groups. Early Christian groups, for instance, struggled to establish their own legitimacy and find a place for themselves in contradistinction to other followers of Jesus whose practices they considered unacceptable, dangerous, or "heretical" in some way.[59]

Here there are similar strategies in the social categorization of others as part of the process of group self-definition and differentiation. Epiphanius's fourth-century rhetorical attacks on the supposed devilish rituals of the Christian Phibionites is among the most extreme cases.[60] There Epiphanius describes in gory detail how "they even foul their assembly, if you please, with dirt from promiscuous fornication; and they eat and handle both human flesh and uncleanness" (*Pan.* 26.3.3).[61] The account in *Panarion* (26.3.3–5.7) culminates in Epiphanius's discussion of this group's supposed ritual slaughter and consumption of the unwanted fetuses that resulted from the sexual rites of the group.

Yet the Christian groups that, ultimately, became marginalized and lost the struggle also made use of similar charges against other followers of Jesus. The second-century *Gospel of Judas* is a case in point. This is among the documents often labelled "gnostic," and it shares in common with other writings of this type the notion that the Judean god of the Bible who created this world (the demiurge, named "Saklas" in this writing) is not the same

57. Trans. Glover and Rendall 1931 (LCL).

58. Nilsson 1957 is among those who tend to adopt the moralistic critique of ancient authors. See Harland 2003a, 55–87; Dennis E. Smith 2003.

59. See Dölger 1934, 217–23. On the Montanists' sacrifice of children, see, for instance, Philastrius *Diversarum hereseon* 49.5; Epiphanius *Panarion* 48.14.5–6; Cyril of Jerusalem *Catech.* 16.8. The Manichees were also charged with "sacrificing men in demonic mysteries" (Theodore bar Konai [seventh cent. CE]; Adam 1969).

60. Now see Frankfurter 2006, 104–8.

61. Trans. Williams 1997, 84.

benevolent God who sent Christ. In this document, the author criticizes other Christian groups by way of the image of the eleven disciples of Jesus. These disciples are portrayed as fatally misunderstanding Jesus and the God who sent Jesus, and they are portrayed as devoted instead to the demiurge, the malevolent creator of the world. In this setting, there is an episode where Jesus interprets a dream that Jesus' disciples had about twelve priests making sacrifices in the temple:

> Jesus said, "What are [the priests] like?" They [said, "Some] were. . . [for] two weeks. [Others] were sacrificing their own children. Others were sacrificing their wives as a gift [and] they were humiliating each other. Some were sleeping with men. Some were [committing murder]. Yet others were committing a number of sins and lawless acts. And the men standing [beside] the altar [were] calling upon your [Name]. (*Gos. Judas* 39.12–23)[62]

Jesus then interprets the dream as referring to these very disciples who claim to follow Jesus but are, in fact, far from him: "Jesus said to them, 'You are those you saw who presented the offerings upon the altar . . .'" (*Gos. Judas* 39.18–20). Here the author is accusing Christians who do not hold his own particular views regarding the distinction between the demiurge (God of the Judeans) and the God who sent Christ. He draws on ethnographic discourses that characterize their activities as the equivalent of ritual murder of women and children and of what the author of the *Gospel of Judas* considers sexual perversity.

Conclusions

This trio of ritual atrocity (human sacrifice, cannibalism, and sexual perversion) has a long history in discourses of the other, in negative social categorizations, and in processes of identity negotiation. The trio raises its head again not only in accusations against Jews, "heretics," and witches in the medieval and early modern periods, for instance, but also in the more recent "Satanic ritual abuse" scare of the 1980s, as recently discussed by David Frankfurter.[63]

Frankfurter notes how even academic scholarship has sometimes bought into the rhetoric of such charges, including the ancient cases we have been discussing. Thus, scholars might (in less blatant terms) join with Franz Cumont in speaking of the "return to savagery" characteristic of mystery cults, or that, with the "adoption of the Oriental mysteries, barbarous, cruel and obscene practices were undoubtedly spread."[64] Essentially, this reflects the rhetoric of the likes of Livy about threatening and abhorrent foreign rites in a new guise.

In a similar vein and also in connection with "mysteries" (in Lollianos), Henrichs expressed a belief that "even slanderous accounts of ritual performances can be used as reliable evidence of actual religious practices in antiquity if interpreted properly, and that

62. Trans. DeConick 2007, 71–72.

63. Frankfurter 2001, 352–81, now discussed more fully in Frankfurter 2006.

64. Cumont 1956, 6; see Frankfurter 2001, 363–65.

the uniform pattern in the various rumors of ritual murder points to *concrete rites* that were celebrated by ethnic or tribal minorities."[65] Henrichs does seem to back away from accepting such descriptions as realistic in a later publication that deals with human sacrifice, however.[66] Stephen Benko gives credence to accounts of wild sexual and commensal activities, even the most extreme ones described in Epiphanius's critique of the Phibionites.[67] In this problematic view, such accounts refer to actual rituals that were practiced in some fringe groups. It should be noted that these scholars did not necessarily have available the important sociological and anthropological work that has been done on processes of external categorization and group definition, which have informed my own approach.

The approach here has been to emphasize the manner in which charges of wild transgression are part of more encompassing discourses that reflect the methods and rhetoric of ancient ethnography in order to describe and distance the foreign "other" from one's own cultural or ethnic group. In the process of defining one's own group, the activities of others are defined as dangerous inversions of good order. The anti-association or anti-banquet idea is part of this overall strategy. These ancient discourses are best understood within the framework of intergroup rivalries, identity construction, and group-boundary negotiation.

In light of this understanding of the charges in terms of identity theory and discourses of the other, it is important to reiterate some meanings of these discourses. Douglas's anthropological work has taught us how views of the body, including issues of the consumption of food, reflect views of society and the boundaries within and around society.[68] Moreover, the boundaries that are violated in the ritual murder and consumption of fellow-humans can symbolize the destruction of society itself. It is the prior understanding of the other as a dangerous threat to society that leads ancient authors, whether in history or fiction, to draw on a common stockpile of typical antisocietal actions, cannibalism as the ultimate offence. Allegations of destroying and consuming humanity itself are another way of reinforcing the notion that these groups should be labeled as criminal or barbaric threats. Within the context of such discourses, small groups of outlaws or associations of foreigners specifically can play a noteworthy role in representing the alien or criminal threat within society.

Banqueting practices played an important role in discourses of identity, in which certain authors, representative in some ways of their ethnic or cultural group, engaged in the process of defining their own groups as civilized by alienating another as barbarous. These authors of both fiction and history played on what was commonly expected or pious behaviour within associations by presenting alien associations or low-life criminal guilds as the inversion of all that was pious and right. Ritual murder and the accompanying cannibalistic meal, symbolic of inverting piety and destroying society itself, stand out as the epitome of the anti-banquet. Tales of this sort, informed by ethnographic discourses, were frightening precisely because they represented a distortion of the goals of most associa-

65. Henrichs 1970, 33.

66. Do see Henrichs's (1978, 121–60) more cautious approach to maenads and the supposed eating of raw flesh, however.

67. Benko 1980, 1087–89.

68. Douglas 1973.

tions and groups, namely, the intimately related goals of appropriately honouring the gods (through sacrifice) and feasting with friends.

Sometimes, both Judean synagogues and Christian congregations were targets of this technique of defining oneself over against the other, primarily because of the foreignness of their nonparticipation in honouring, or sacrificing to, the Greek or Roman gods, because of their attention to just one, foreign god (their monotheism or monolatrism). In part, it was this failure to acknowledge the gods of others or to honour any gods beyond the Judean God that set Judeans and followers of Jesus apart as cultural minority groups.

Sometimes, though not always, these differences in cultural practice drew the attention of specific outsiders more than the similarities that led to the view that Judean gatherings and Christians congregations were associations of the usual type. This study has shown that Judeans and Christians were very much a part of intergroup relations in the ancient Mediterranean context, relations that facilitated the construction and reformulation of identities among various associations and communities.

Conclusion

This book has explored issues of identity in the world of the early Christians using local archeological and epigraphic evidence and literary sources for associations as a window into that world. There are many other ways to approach the question of early Christian identities within Greco-Roman contexts, and this study has pursued only certain, neglected pieces of the larger puzzle.

Answers to the question who are we or who am I in relation to this group varied from one person, group, or situation to the next, and group identities could and did evolve over time. Dynamics of identity, whether ethnic or social, are helpfully explained in terms of both internal self-definition and external categorizations. Both outside observers and members of Judean gatherings and Christian congregations often recognized these groups as associations, even though they were associations with a peculiar twist relating to their focus on honouring the Judean God (alongside Jesus in the case of Christians) to the exclusion of other Greek and Roman deities. This twist is something that allows the social historian to speak of these particular associations as cultural minorities and to draw on other social-scientific tools for studying ethnic and minority groups.

Josephus and Philo demonstrate the ways in which Judean gatherings were understood within the framework of societies (*thiasoi*) and synods in the Greco-Roman context, as well as the tendency of Judeans, like others, to present their own groups as superior to their rivals. Perceptions among authors such as Pliny the Younger, Lucian, and Celsus further demonstrate how outsiders and even imperial authorities could view Christian groups with the association as a principal model. This is the case despite peculiarities that might on occasion lead a particular upper-class Roman to dismiss such associations as "superstitions" or as secretive or dangerous associations.

From the inside, Ignatius of Antioch clarifies similar internal patterns of definition relating to association life as he draws on local cultural life to express the identities of the Christian congregations in Asia Minor in terms of groups of initiates with their own, superior mysteries. Metaphors drawn from local processions, including the image of bearing holy objects, further facilitate Ignatius's expression of Christian identity in ways that place these congregations within the familiar world of associations in western Asia Minor.

Internal processes of self-definition are integral to any understanding of group identities. The Greco-Roman social model of the family played a significant role for internal modes of identification among members of certain associations, including but not limited to some Christian congregations and Judean gatherings. It is, therefore, problematic

to interpret family and brother language within Christian groups as a further sign that all Christian groups should be categorized as sects. These areas of common ground in expressing belonging and hierarchies within a group demonstrate ways in which congregations and gatherings were part of a larger cultural framework in the Roman Empire.

Comparative investigations into immigrant groups or ethnic associations provide important insights into ethnic identity and acculturation in the world of Judeans and Christians. The case study of Syrians and Phoenicians abroad clarified associational tendencies among immigrants in cities during the Hellenistic and Roman eras. Examining such groups offered further insight into self-definition as certain groups maintained and communicated specific ethnic identities within a host society.

Continuing connections with the homeland and its cultural ways, including devotion to the "ancestral gods," illustrate some of the ways in which ethnic groups continued to define themselves in relation to their original homeland. Judean gatherings were, therefore, not alone as ethnic groups with their own distinctive customs and identities that set them apart in certain ways from other groups in the same social setting.

Alongside these areas of cultural maintenance and differentiation, however, were signs of acculturation and assimilation within local cultural and social life among certain associations of Syrians, Berytians, Tyrians, and others. Participation in social networks and interaction with people from other ethnic groups, for instance, point to significant areas of assimilation and integration within the host society. Cultural exchanges go both ways. Certain people from outside the ethnic group were involved in honouring ancestral gods of Syrian towns, or even attended meetings of these ethnic associations. Such evidence points to certain degrees of enculturation into the ways of the ethnic group on the part of outsiders. Here, too, the Syrian associations offer a helpful analogy for understanding the evidence for Judean gatherings' varying degrees of interaction with local cultural and social structures and for contextualizing the involvements of certain non-Judeans (gentiles or god-fearers) in Judean cultural practices and social connections.

Evidence for the maintenance of ethnic identities and attachments to the homeland, on the one hand, and areas of integration within local society, on the other, problematize general theories of rootlessness and detachment among immigrant populations in the ancient Mediterranean. Further comparative studies of such ethnic groups and diasporas may help to map out Judean and other immigrant populations.

Looking at Judean families at a particular locale, Hierapolis, provided further insight into both cultural maintenance and certain levels of integration within local society on the part of such cultural minority groups. The case of the family of Glykon illustrates the potential for multiple affiliations and multiple identities not only on the part of this family, but also on the part of the primarily non-Judean guilds who continued to remember Glykon and his family on both Judean and Roman holidays. Here again interactions took place between members of different ethnic or cultural groups with resulting acculturation or enculturation for those involved. The Judean graves from Hierapolis in the second and third centuries demonstrate areas of cultural and structural assimilation as families looked to local civic institutions as authorities and adopted or adapted local customs in burial arrangements. At the same time, many continued to clearly identify themselves as Judeans in various ways, including open identification as "Judeans," celebration of Judean holy days, and the use of Judean symbols such as the menorah on family graves. The formation of

associations of Judeans is itself a clear indication of attachments to the homeland and a means by which certain dimensions of ethnic identities could be strengthened and displayed in the diaspora.

Positive interactions among different groups or certain levels of integration within local society did not preclude areas of tension or rivalry, however. In some respects, involvement in rivalries and competition was a structural feature of social life in Greek cities of the eastern Roman Empire. So the participation of Judean gatherings and Christian congregations in rivalrous interchanges with others is in some sense normal and expected, at least to some degree. Associations in Sardis and Smyrna engaged in competition within social networks of benefaction, both as recipients of support and as donors. Claims of superiority or preeminence for the group or its god were not unusual within this context of the struggle for honour, recognition, and position within local society.

Furthermore, associations of various kinds were, to different degrees, competitors for members or for the loyalties of the members they had. The evidence for multiple memberships or affiliations points to a plurality of identities, including ethnic identities. As individuals found themselves within different situations at different times, one or another identity would play a more significant role than other identities. Suggestive evidence points to the involvement of some Judeans and Christians within multiple groups despite calls for exclusivity on the part of certain leaders, such as the author of John's Revelation.

The minority cultural positions or ethnic identities of certain associations led, on occasion, to negative external categorizations that further illustrate rivalries among different groups. The case of stereotypes regarding Syrians and Phoenicians set the stage for a discussion of other more general categorizations and stereotypes. Although they should not be exaggerated, such stereotypes were significant for identity negotiation when they were expressed and when members of the categorized group reacted to such negative stereotypes.

Ethnic and minority groups that were perceived as "foreign" could be understood by certain outsiders in terms of what I have called the "anti-association," the dangerous and alien association within our midst. Accusations of human sacrifice, cannibalism, and sexual perversion were among the most striking stereotypes aimed at "foreign" peoples or minority groups, including Judeans and Christians.

Such negative characterizations of the "other" by certain people would potentially facilitate negative actions against such "dangerous" or "alien" peoples on particular occasions. This is demonstrated in local and sporadic persecutions of Christians, for instance. The Christians had the added factor of their Judean connections involving a general rejection of the gods of others, which also led some outsiders to label them impious "atheists." It is not surprising to find such accusations in accounts of persecution, such as the account of the Christians at Lyons who were charged with Thyestean feasts and Oedipean unions and the Christians at Smyrna (ca. 160 CE) who were charged with atheism. In this respect, Christians, like Judeans and some other foreigners, were involved within the framework of ethnic rivalries. These rivalries were expressed not only within ancient ethnographic materials produced by the elites, but also, on occasion, within everyday social interactions on the ground.

Yet these cultural minority groups were not merely targets in such processes of identity construction. They also engaged in similar techniques of internal self-definition

through stereotyping the "other," including other associations. Thus, on occasion, Philo defines Judean associations by caricaturing the associations of others (Egyptians, Greeks) as dangerous, conspiratorial, drunken revels. And the author of the Wisdom of Solomon calls on the usual trio of atrocities in speaking of the mysteries of outsiders (e.g., Greeks, Romans, and Egyptians) in terms of human sacrifice, cannibalism, and sexual perversion.

Similar techniques of self-definition and differentiation are found among certain Christian authors who sought to distinguish themselves from other Christian groups that these authors considered dangerous or impious heretics. Epiphanius's description of the Phibionites, on the one hand, and the *Gospel of Judas*'s description of Christians who claimed attachments to Jesus' "inferior" disciples, on the other, illustrate these processes of identity negotiation that involve discourses of ethnicity.

This study has focussed on what was common among many groups while also paying attention to certain distinctive features of ethnic groups and cultural minorities. The attention to shared modes of identity construction, negotiation, and communication is not meant to suggest that Christians were not unique. However, Christians were unique or distinctive insofar as every association, minority group, or ethnic group was unique or distinctive, each in its own way. Among the distinctive characteristics of Christians and Judeans that stood out to many insiders and outsiders was their attention to one, Judean God to the exclusion of other deities. This also entailed refraining from involvement in certain social settings where those other gods were honoured. This distinction was a potential source of tensions with many other groups and individuals within their contexts, and it could lead to social harassment and persecution on particular occasions.

Still, despite this highlighted characteristic that makes a concept such as cultural minority group applicable to both Judean gatherings and Christian congregations, these groups were recognizable to many outsiders as another instance of the association, synod, or society. Whether viewed as an association or an anti-association by particular outsiders on specific occasions, some of these cultural minority groups were more or less integrated than others within local social and cultural life in the cities of the Roman Empire.

Abbreviations

Epigraphic and Papyrological Collections Cited in the Text

(Based on the abbreviations listed in the following publications)

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AE	Cagnat, Merlin, et al. 1888–
BE	Haussoullier, Reinach, et al. 1888–
BGU	Schubart, Kühn, et al. 1895–
CCCA	Vermaseren 1987
CIG	Boeckh 1828–77
CIJ	Frey 1936–52
CIL	Mommsen, Lommatzsch, et al. 1893
CIMRM	Vermaseren 1956–60
CIRB	Struve 1965
CIS	Academie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 1881–
CPJ	Tcherikover and Fuks 1957–64
DFSJ	Lifshitz 1967
GIBM	Hicks, Hirschfeld, et al. 1874–1916
IAlexandria	Kayser 1994
IAlexTroas	Ricl 1997
IApamBith	Corsten 1987
IAphrodSpect	Roueché 1993
IAsMinLyk I	Benndorf and Niemann 1884
ICarie	Robert and Robert 1954
IDelos	Roussel and Launey 1937
IDelosChoix	Dürrbach 1921
IDidyma	Rehm 1958
IEgJud	Horbury and Noy 1992

IEph	Engelmann, Wankel, et al. 1979–84
IErythrai	Engelmann, Merkelbach 1972–74
IEurJud	Noy 1993–95
IFayum	Bernand 1975–1981
IG	Gaertringen, Lewis, et al. 1873–
IGBulg	Mihailov 1958–70
IGLAM	Le Bas and Waddington 1972 [1870]
IGLSkythia	Pippidi and Russu 1983–
IGLSyria	Sartre 1982
IGR	Cagnat, Toutain, et al. 1906–27
IGUR	Moretti 1968–91
IHierapJ	Judeich 1898
IHierapMir	Miranda 1999a
IHierapPenn	Pennacchietti 1966–67
IIasos	Blümel 1985
IJO I	Noy, Panayotov, et al. 2004
IJO II	Noy, Bloedhorn, et al. 2004
IJO III	Ameling 2004
IKilikiaBM	Bean and Mitford 1965, 1970
IKlaudiupolis	Becker-Bertau 1986
IKos	Hicks and Paton 1891
IKosSegre	Segre 1993
IKyzikos	Schwertheim 1980–
ILaodikeia	Robert 1969
ILindos	Blinkenberg 1941
ILydiaKP I	Keil and Premerstein 1910
ILydiaKP III	Keil and Premerstein 1914
IMagnMai	Kern 1900
IMagnSip	Ihnken 1978
IMiletos	Wiegend, Kawerau, et al. 1889–1997
IMylasa	Blümel 1987–88
INikaia	Sahin 1979–87
IPergamon	Fränkel 1890–95
IPerge	Sahin 1999–2004
IPerinthos	Sayar 1998
IPontEux	Latyschev 1965 [1890–1901]
IPriene	Gaertringen 1906
IPrusaOlymp	Corsten 1991
IPrusiasHyp	Ameling 1985
IRhodM	Maiuri 1925
IRomJud	Noy 1993–1995
ISardBR	Buckler and Robinson 1932
ISardH	Herrmann 1996
ISelge	Nollé and Schindler 1991
ISmyrna	Petzl 1982–90

IStratonikeia	Sahin 1982–90
ITralles	Poljakov 1989
LSAM	Sokolowski 1955
LSCG	Sokolowski 1962
MAMA	Keil, Buckler, et al. 1928–
NewDocs	Horsley and Llewelyn 1981–2002
OClaud	Bingen, Bülow-Jacobsen, et al. 1992–2000
OGIS	Dittenberger 1903–1905
PAmherst	Grenfell and Hunt 1900–1901
PLond	Kenyon, Bell, Skeat 1893–1974
PMich	Edgar, Boak, et al. 1931–
POxy	Egypt Exploration Fund 1898–
PParis	Letronne, de Presle, et al. 1865
PPetaus	Hagedorn, Hagedorn, et al. 1969
PRyl	Johnson, Martin, et al. 1911–52
PSI	Vitelli, Norsa, et al. 1912–1979
PTebtunis	Grenfell, Hunt, et al. 1902–76
PThmouis	Kmabitsis 1985
PTor	Peyron 1827
SB	Preisigke, Bilabel, et al. 1915–
SEG	Roussel, Salav, et al. 1923–
SIRIS	Vidman 1969
TAM	Kalinka, Heberdey, et al. 1920–
UPZ	Wilcken 1927–57

Journal and Series Abbreviations in the Bibliography

Abbreviations of journals and series follow the listing in the *SBL Handbook of Style.* Additional abbreviations are listed below.

AncSoc	*Ancient Society*
EA	*Epigraphica Anatolica*
ERS	*Ethnic and Racial Studies*
IGSK	*Inschriften griechischer Städte aus Kleinasien*
MDAI(A)	*Mitteilungen des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts (Athen. Abt.)*
RGRW	Religion in the Greco-Roman World
RPh	*Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes*

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